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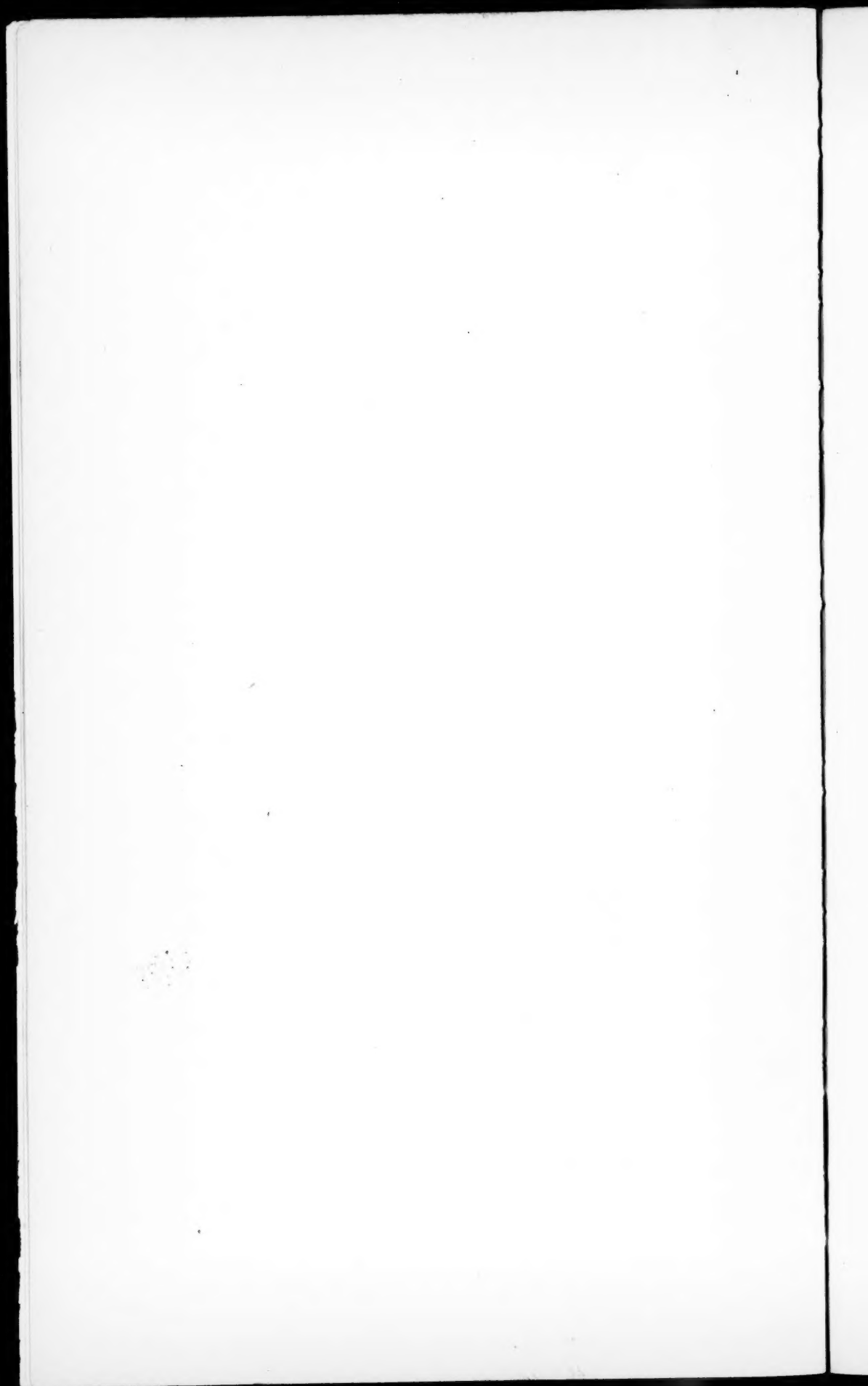
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# CONTENTS OF VOLUME XLVII.

No. 185.		PAGE
The Res Gestae Divi Augusti as Recorded on the Monumentum Antiochenum. By DAVID M. ROBINSON, - - - -		1
The Inscriptions of the Imperial Domains of Africa. By TENNEY FRANK, - - - -		55
A New Account of the Relations between Mahāvīra and Gośāla. By HELEN M. JOHNSON, - - - -		74
Did Caxton Translate the <i>De Consolatione Philosophiae</i> of Boethius? By GUY BAYLEY DOLSON, - - - -		83
REPORTS: - - - -		87
Philologus LXXIX (N. F. XXXIII) 1924 (HARRISON C. COFFIN).—Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, N. F. 73. Band, Heft 3 u. 4 (C. W. E. MILLER).		
REVIEWS: - - - -		94
Festschrift til Amund B. Larsen (GEORGE T. FLOM).— <i>Reid's</i> M. Tulli Ciceronis De Finibus I-II (E. G. SIHLER).— <i>Stewart's</i> The Annals of Quintus Ennius (TENNEY FRANK).— <i>McElwain's</i> Frontinus, The Stratagems, and the Aqueducts of Rome (W. P. MUSTARD).— <i>Hopfner's</i> Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae (W. A. HEIDEL).— <i>Goelzer's</i> Virgile, Bucoliques (W. P. MUSTARD).		
CORRESPONDENCE: - - - -		104
Bursian's Jahresberichte (W. A. OLDFATHER).—Bibliographie Décennale de l'Antiquité Classique (ROLAND G. KENT).		
THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA (C. W. E. MILLER), -		105
BOOKS RECEIVED, - - - -		105
No. 186.		
Cicero de Optimo Genere Oratorum. By G. L. HENDRICKSON, -		109
Ut Clauses. Part II. By CLARENCE W. MENDELL, - - -		124
A Commentary on the Inscription from Henchir Mettich in Africa. By TENNEY FRANK, - - - -		153
The Reconstruction of <i>I. G. I<sup>2</sup></i> , 191. By ALLEN B. WEST and BENJAMIN D. MERITT, - - - -		171
Epigraphical Salvage from Pompeii. By A. W. VANBUREN, -		177
REPORTS: - - - -		180
Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica, Vol. LIII (1925) (W. P. MUSTARD).—Glotta, Vol. XIV (1925) (FRANKLIN EDGERTON).		
REVIEWS: - - - -		187
<i>Sonnenschein's</i> What is Rhythm? (ARTHUR L. WHEELER).— <i>Walter Scott's</i> Hermetica (ERNST RIESS).— <i>Small's</i> Comparison of Inequality (MORGAN CALLAWAY, JR.).— <i>Kroll's</i> Catullus (TENNEY FRANK).— <i>Housman's</i> Lucan (W. P. MUSTARD).— <i>Gummere's</i> Seneca, Vol. III (W. P. MUSTARD).		
BOOKS RECEIVED: - - - -		202

No. 187.		PAGE
On Organized Brigandage in Hindu Fiction. By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, - - - - -		205
Cicero's Correspondence with Brutus and Calvus on Oratorical Style. By G. L. HENDRICKSON, - - - - -		234
Iustae Quibus Est Mezentius Irae. By ROBERT G. NISBET, - - - - -		259
Some Notes on Roman Tragedy. By ETHEL MARY STEUART, - - - - -		272
REPORTS: - - - - -		279
Hermes LX (1925) (HERMAN LOUIS EBELING).—Revue de Philologie XLIX (1925), (CAROL V. B. WIGHT).		
REVIEWS: - - - - -		290
<i>Rostovtzeff's</i> A Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire (TENNEY FRANK).— <i>Merrill's</i> Catullus (TENNEY FRANK).— <i>Drew's</i> Culex (TENNEY FRANK).— <i>Hosius' Die Moselgedichte des Decimus Magnus Ausonius und des Venantius Fortunatus</i> (W. P. MUSTARD).— <i>Bechtel's</i> Die griechischen Dialekte (CARL D. BUCK).— <i>Hammer's</i> Prolegomena to an Edition of the Panegyricus Messalae (G. A. HARRER).		
BOOKS RECEIVED, - - - - -		301
No. 188.		
Etymological and Critical Notes. By PAUL HAUPT, - - - - -		305
Agelmund and Lamicho. By KEMP MALONE, - - - - -		319
The Significance of <i>Augustior</i> as Applied to Hercules and to Romulus: A Note on Livy I, 7, 9 and I, 8, 9. By GERTRUDE HIRST, - - - - -		347
The Alleged Avarice of Sophocles. By W. A. OLDFATHER, - - - - -		358
Hyperbole in Mythological Comparisons. By HELEN H. LAW, - - - - -		361
REPORTS: - - - - -		373
Philologus, LXXX (N. F. XXXIV) 1925 (HARRISON C. COFFIN).—Romania, Vol. LI, Nos. 1-4 (GEORGE C. KEIDEL).		
REVIEWS: - - - - -		383
<i>Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's</i> Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos (EDWARD FITCH).— <i>Postgate's</i> A Short Guide to the Accentuation of Ancient Greek, and On Ancient Greek Accentuation (WALTER PETERSEN).— <i>Lowe's</i> Codices Lugdunenses Antiquissimi (CHARLES UPSON CLARK).— <i>Rand's</i> A New Approach to the Text of Pliny's Letters (C. U. CLARK).— <i>Burnam's</i> Palaeographia Iberica (C. U. CLARK).— <i>Lindsay's</i> Palaeographia Latina (C. U. CLARK).— <i>Man- nix' Sancti Ambrosii Oratio de Obitu Theodosii</i> (C. U. CLARK).		
BOOKS RECEIVED, - - - - -		393
INDEX, - - - - -		397



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## THE RES GESTAE DIVI AUGUSTI AS RECORDED ON THE MONUMENTUM ANTIOCHENUM.<sup>1</sup>

In 1914 in excavations at Colonia Caesarea or Pisidian Antioch Sir William Ramsay found some sixty<sup>2</sup> fragments of a Latin copy of the most important inscription of the Latin Empire, that "Queen of Inscriptions" as it is called by Mommsen, the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. This was one of three documents placed by Augustus along with his will in a safety-deposit box in the care of the Vestal Virgins (Suet. Aug. 101). It was written by Augustus himself before 2 B. C. and probably revised from time to time between 2 B. C. and 14 A. D. The document was read in the Senate and engraved on bronze pillars in front of the Mausoleum which Augustus had built some forty-two years before his death. The Mausoleum, used for symphony concerts to-day, still stands on the Ripetta in the Campus Martius but the inscription has perished. A copy in Greek and Latin is preserved on the Augusteum at Ancyra (the modern Angora). There was

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for helpful suggestions to Enoch E. Peterson, research fellow of the University of Michigan, who was present at the excavations from beginning to end; to Sir William Ramsay, who by agreement turned over to the University of Michigan all rights of publication and promised to place at our disposal all the material of every kind in his possession that might be useful; to Francis W. Kelsey, director of Near East Research for the University of Michigan, who provided for the expenses of the excavations; and to Professor A. E. R. Boak of the University of Michigan. This manuscript was submitted in September 1925 but space was not available till the March number of the Journal. The paper was presented to the Johns Hopkins Philological Association on Nov. 19, 1925 and to the American Philological Association on Dec. 30, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> In J. R. S. VI, 1916, p. 110 it is said that more than sixty were found; in J. R. S. XIV, 1924, p. 176 the number is 49.

another bilingual version at Pergamum and a Greek text at Apollonia, of which only a few fragments are extant, these two also inscribed on temples of Augustus. Many of Ramsay's fragments of the Latin copy at Antioch, the first ones so far found not engraved on a temple (the number of which Hardy in his new edition of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, page eight, gives as only thirty-five) contained only one letter. Sir William published forty-nine of the fragments with drawings but no measurements or photographs in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, VI, 1916, pp. 108-129 (cited as Ramsay).<sup>3</sup> The excavations conducted by the University of Michigan Expedition in the summer of 1924 at the invitation, and with the coöperation, of Sir William Ramsay (cf. *Am. J. Arch.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 435-444) discovered about two hundred and fifteen additional fragments, on compact whitish limestone. Ramsay thought that he had previously found nothing of the preface or of the first seven chapters, but we now have fragments of the preface and every chapter as well as of the four appendices, with the same divisions as in the *Mon. Anc.* They are all in Latin, showing that a Greek version was not inscribed, as in the *Mon. Anc.*, at Colonia Caesarea, which was intended, despite the Greek-speaking *incolae*, to be a purely Roman city. Ehrenberg (*Klio* XIX, p. 200) had wrongly thought a Greek translation necessary for Antioch.

It has been a difficult and time-consuming task to identify the fragments in this jig-saw puzzle, and a few unimportant pieces are still unplaced or still uncertain (pl. VIIa). The marks of chisel and hammer used perhaps by early iconoclasts, still to be seen on many of the fragments, strengthen the hypothesis that the *Mon. Ant.* was purposely destroyed long before the damage done by the earthquakes mentioned in Byzantine writers. One of these thrust the temple and Propylaea and triple gateway to the west. The destruction of the *Mon. Ant.* took place long before the final devastation by the Arabs in 713 A. D.<sup>4</sup> This

<sup>3</sup> It is to be regretted that the other eleven fragments, however unimportant they seemed then to be, were not published, as they are no longer to be found. Nor has any publication appeared of the thirty-three pieces of sculpture discovered by Ramsay at Antioch in 1913 and 1914, many of which it will be difficult now to locate.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Theophanes, de Boor ed., I, p. 383.

would account for the smallness of most of the fragments and for the fact that so much had been entirely removed or destroyed. Most of the fragments were found on the Tiberia Platea below the staircase, so widely scattered and in such separate pieces that no detailed conclusions can be drawn from the place of finding, though it was recorded in every case, and every fragment given a number from 41 to 255 inclusive.<sup>5</sup> Many fragments were found in the dump of Ramsay's previous excavation and more than fifty were purchased from natives who had found them either in illegitimate digging or in the dumps. Baksheesh was freely distributed to boys who brought us fragments from the débris or elsewhere. This increased very materially the number of fragments but in one or two cases it led to stealing of pieces which were broken and again offered to us separately. However, more fragments were secured by this method than would otherwise have been possible. Few have escaped our notice, and I feel confident that nearly all have been found that can now be recovered, since the excavations covered the entire area where such fragments might be. Drawings and measurements and two squeezes and photographs were made of every fragment, and the stones themselves were cleaned and carefully studied. The coloring and weathering, the varying style of letters which shows that several stone-cutters carved the inscription, the spacing, and other indications, as well as the broken edges and the letters themselves have been a guide in joining together the scattered fragments, no two of which were united when found. Squeezes, drawings and photographs were also made of as many of the previous fragments as could be rediscovered. These had been transported far away to Konia, where in the museum with the help of Mr. William H. Buckler 42 out of the 49 published by Ramsay were located. It is more scientific to give photographs, where possible, than drawings which are subject to error. So on the plates herewith published are shown the joins which I have been able to make and a photographic reproduction of every fragment which is still preserved. Much commentary which is rendered unnecessary by an examination of the plates has been

<sup>5</sup> We started with 41, allowing forty numbers to those previously found and now at Konia. All those found or purchased by us were deposited at Yalivadj in the Lycée.

omitted. The text is numbered by columns but in the commentary the chapters are cited by the number of lines in the chapters.

I spent some time at Angora studying and taking squeezes of parts of the *Mon. Anc.*<sup>6</sup> In this preliminary article I have limited myself to fitting the new fragments into the text. I have not considered the question so long debated as to the purpose or literary tabulation of this laconic statistical account of Augustus' honors, donations, and deeds in peace and war. I am inclined to believe that it was not intended simply as a political testament,<sup>7</sup> or a statement of credit or debit, an *apologia pro vita sua*,<sup>8</sup> or an epitaph or an *eulogium sepulcræ*,<sup>9</sup> or as a justification for apotheosis.<sup>10</sup> Because of the suppression of some facts and the omission of the names of Augustus' public enemies and of those of his family who were not connected with him in affairs of state and owing to his concentration on his relations with the senate and the people, I agree with Mommsen that it does not belong to any particular literary classification. It is a unique diplomatic document of dignified but cool-headed political propaganda,<sup>11</sup> designed by an experienced world-ruler to give to the Roman people an account of his stewardship and public career. It probably was also meant to prepare for Tiberius' succession, as Westermann believes,<sup>12</sup> a special kind of "Grabschrift."<sup>13</sup>

The editions and monographs and articles which have been

<sup>6</sup> There is a complete set of squeezes at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

<sup>7</sup> Hirschfeld, *Wiener Studien* III, 1881, p. 264.

<sup>8</sup> Wölfflin, *Sitzungsberichte der Akad. der Wiss. zu München*, 1886, p. 280.

<sup>9</sup> Bormann, *Verhandlungen der dreiundvierzigsten Versamml. deutsch. Philologen in Köln*, 1895, pp. 184 ff.; Schmidt, *Philologus* XLIV, 1885, pp. 442-70; XLV, 1886, pp. 393-410; XLVI, 1887, pp. 70-86; Nissen in *Rh. Mus.* XLI, 1886, pp. 481-499. Cf. also in general Gardthausen's *Augustus I*, pp. 1279-95; II, pp. 874-880; Shipley, *Res Gestæ*, pp. 332 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Wilamowitz, *Hermes* XXI, 1886, pp. 623-7.

<sup>11</sup> Ehrenberg, *Klio*, XIX, p. 200 says: "Der wesentliche Zweck der Aufstellung der *Res Gestæ* war Propaganda." Otherwise Kahrstedt, *Hist. Ztschr.* CXXVIII, 1923, p. 471.

<sup>12</sup> *American Historical Review*, XVII, 1911, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Dessau, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, p. 479.

used are the following: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, III, 2, pp. 769 ff. (C. I. L.), Berlin, 1873; Mommsen, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti ex Monumentis Ancyranis et Apolloniensi*, with eleven plates, Berlin, 1883 (cited as Mommsen); Fairley, *Monumentum Ancyranum*, with Latin text, translation and commentary, in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History* published by the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania, Vol. V, no. 1, 1898 (unknown after twenty-five years to Hardy), an excellent critical edition now out of print (cited as Fairley); Shuckburgh, *Augustus*, 1903, pp. 293-301 (translation); Cagnat et Lafaye, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes* III, 1, 1906, pp. 65 ff. (cited as Cagnat); Kornemann, *Mausoleum und Tatenbericht des Augustus*, Leipzig, 1921 (cited as Kornemann); Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy*, 1919, pp. 258-276, an excellent critical edition of the Latin text, probably the best though not mentioned by Hardy or Shipley or Knapp in the *Classical Weekly* XVIII, p. 170, where Cagnat is also lacking (cited as Sandys); Diehl, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Das Monumentum Ancyranum*<sup>3</sup>, Bonn, 1918 (cited as Diehl); Hardy, *The Monumentum Ancyranum*, Oxford, 1923, an edition of little use to scholars because it reproduces Mommsen's text without editorial signs to indicate lacunae, restorations and the like, and because it gives the Latin and Greek texts sentence by sentence followed by an English translation and commentary, thus breaking the sequence which Augustus intended (cited as Hardy); Shipley, *Velleius Paterculus and Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (Loeb Classical Library), 1924 (cited as Shipley). Some articles cited besides that of Ramsay in *J. R. S.* VI, 1916, pp. 108-129 are Haug, *Bursian's Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der kl. Altertumswissenschaft*, LVI, 1888, pp. 87 ff. (Haug); Wölfflin, *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1886, pp. 253 ff.; 1896, pp. 160 ff. (Wölfflin); Wirtz, *Ergänzungs- und Verbesserungsvorschläge zum Monumentum Ancyranum*, Königliches Kaiser-Wilhelms Gymnasium mit Real-Gymnasium zu Trier, 1912 (Wirtz); Hoeing, *Classical Philology* III, 1908, pp. 87-90 (a good article not cited in the bibliographies); Von Premerstein, *Hermes* LIX, 1924, pp. 95-107 (Von Premerstein); Ehrenberg, *Klio* XIX, 1925, pp. 189-213 (Ehrenberg). For



other articles cf. Cagnat, p. 65; Besnier in *Mélanges Cagnat*, 1912, pp. 119-151; Shipley, pp. 341-43; Regard, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* XXVI, 1924, pp. 147-161; and Dessau, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, pp. 478-484.

Words or letters enclosed in square brackets are restorations in the *Mon. Anc.* by Mommsen or other scholars. The completion of abbreviations is indicated by curved parentheses.<sup>14</sup> Heavy black-face type is used for what is preserved in the *Mon. Ant.* so that at a glance it can be seen where the text is preserved at Antioch and not at Angora. In some cases restorations have been adopted which seem to be better than those of Mommsen. Where a letter is broken, but absolutely certain, it is given in black. Where it is badly broken or uncertain a dot is placed underneath. Accents are given where they are preserved in either monument. An examination of the plates will show where they are preserved in the *Mon. Ant.* There is much irregularity but cases of agreement with the *Mon. Anc.* are not very rare. Where on the stone the long vowels are indicated either by an apex or by elongation of i, an apex or accent is used, though the two Latin copies are not always consistent. The sign § is used to represent the symbol which on the stone sometimes resembles a 7 on its side, sometimes an open 3. It is not so rare as Ramsay, p. 112, imagined. In the original the first letter of a chapter projects beyond the margin of the succeeding lines, but the modern practice of indentation is followed in the transcription. The original right and left edges of the columns where preserved, can be seen by looking at the plates, which also show the beginning and ending of the nine columns or *paginae*.

<sup>14</sup> Omissions of letters on the stone or mistakes in spelling are also sometimes likewise indicated.

## THE TEXT.

## Rerum gestarum

dívi Augusti, quibus orbem terra[rum] ímperio populi Rom(ani)  
 subiécit, § et  
 inpensarum, quas in rem publicam populumque Ro[má]num  
 fecit, incisarum  
 in duabus aheneis pílís, quae su[n]t positae Romae exemplar  
 sub[i]ectum.

- I. 1. Annós undéviginti natus exercitum priváto consilio et pri-  
 vatá impensá comparávi, § per quem rem publicam á [do]mi-  
 natione factionis oppressam in libertátem vindicá[vi].

Qua ratione sen]atus decretís honor[ifi]cís in ordinem

- 5 suum m[e adlegit C. Pansa A.<sup>1</sup> Hirti]o consulibu[s c]on[sula]rem  
 locum s[imul dans sententiae ferendae, et im]perium mi-  
 hi dedit. [§] Rés publica n[e quid detrimenti caperet, mé] pro  
 praetore simul cum consulibus pro[videre iussit. Populus  
 autem eódem anno mé consulem, cum [consul uterque in bel-  
 10 lo ceci]disset, et trium virum rei publicae constituen-  
 d[ae creavit. §

2. Quí parentem meum [interfecer]un[t, eó]s in exilium  
 expulsi

iudiciís legitimís ultus eórum [fa]cin[us, e]t postea bellum  
 inferentís rei publicae víci b[is a]cie.

- 15 3. B]ella terra et mari c[ivilia exte]r]naque tóto in orbe terra-  
 rum s[aepe gessi] victorque omnib[us] [veniam petentib]us cívi-  
 bus pepercí. § Exter[nas] gentés, quib[us] túto [ignosci pot]ui[t,  
 co]nserváre quam excídere m[alui. §] Míllia civium Róma[norum  
 adacta] sacramento meo fuerunt circiter [quingen]ta. § Ex quibus  
 20 dedú[xi in coloni]ás aut remisi in municipia sua stipen[dis  
 emer]itis millia aliquant[o plura qu]am trecenta et íis omnibus  
 agrós a[dsignavi] aut pecuniam pro p[raemiis mil]itiae dedí. §  
 Naves cépi

<sup>1</sup> Hardy p. 27 wrongly prints L.

sescen[ta praeter] eás, si quae minóre[s quam trir]emes fuerunt. §

II. 4. Bis]ováns triumphá[vi], et trís egi c[urulís triumphós et appel-

lá[tus sum viciens et se]mel imperátor. [Cum autem plú]-ris triumphos mihi se[natus decrevisset, iis su]persedi. §

5 L[aurum a fascib]us deposuí, § in Capi[tolio votis, quae] quó-que bello nuncu[paveram, solu]tis. § Ob res á [me aut per legatos meós auspiciis meis terrá m[arique] pr[o]spere gestás qu[inquagiens et quin]quiens decrevit senátus supp[licand]um esse dí[s immo]rtálibus. § Díes autem, pe[r quós ex senátus] cónsul-  
to [s]upplicátum est, fuere DC[CCLXXXX. In triumphis  
meis] ducti

10 sunt ante currum m[e]um regés aut r[eg]um lib[eri novem. Con-  
sul fuer]am terdecies, c[u]m [scribeb]a[m] haec, [et eram  
se]p[ti-  
mum et trigensimum tribú]niciae potestatis.

5. Dictatura]m et apsent[i et praesenti mihi delatam a populo et á senatu,

M. Marce]llo e[t] L. Ar[runtio consulibus, non recepi. Non deprecatus

15 sum in summa frumenti p[er]enuri[á cúratio]ne]m an[nonae, qu]am ita

ad[ministravi, ut intra perpaucós die]s metu et per[i]c[ulo praesenti populu]m univ[ersum de meis sumptibus libera-rem]. § Con[sulatum mihi t]um annum e[t quoque in perpetuum delatum non recepi].

20 6. Consulibus M. Vinicio et Q. Lucretio et postea P.] et Cn. L[entulis et

tertium Paullo Fabio Maximo et Q. Tuberone, senatu populoq]u[e Ro-

mano consentientibus ut curator legum morumque maxima cum po-]

testate solus crearer, magistratum nullum contra exempla ma-] iorum delatum recepi. Quae autem tunc per me senatus admini-]



III. strari voluit, perfecí, tribunicia potestate, ac eiusdem po-]  
testatis conlegam a sen. Rom. et pop. Rom. quinquens ego ip-]  
se poposci et accepi].

7. Trium virum rei publicae constituendae fui per decem  
annos con-]

5 tinuos. Princeps senatus usque ad eum diem fui, quo scrips]eram  
haec, per quadraginta annos. Pontifex max., augur, quindecimvi-]  
ru]m sacris [faciundis, VIIvirum epulonum, frater arvális  
sodalis Titi-  
us, fetiali]s fui.

8. Patriciórum numerum auxí, consul quintum, iussú populi  
et senátús. §

10 Senatum ter légi. Et in consulátu sexto cénsum populi, conlegá M.  
Agrippá, égi. § Lústrum post annum quadragensimum et alterum  
féc[i. §

Quó lústro cívium Románórum censa sunt capita quadragiens  
centum

millia et sexag[i]nta tria millia. § [Iteru]m consulari cum imperio  
lústrum [s]ólus fécí, C. Censorin[o et C.] Asinio cos. § Quó lústro  
censa sunt

15 cívium Romanóru[m capita] quadragiens centum millia et  
ducenta tri-  
ginta tria m[illia. Terti]m consulári cum imperio lústrum, con-  
legá Tib.

Cae[sare filio meo, feci], § Sex. Pompeio et Sex. Appuleio cos.

Quó lústro

cen[sa sunt civium Ro]mánórum capitum quadragiens centum  
mill[ia et nongenta tr]iginta et septem millia. § Legibus novi[s

20 multis latis multa e]xemplá maiorum exolescentia iam ex nost-  
[ro usu ego revocavi, et edidi] multárum rer[um exe]mpla

imitan-  
da pos[teris.

9. Vóta pro salute mea suscipi per cons]ulés et sacerdotes  
qu[in-  
to] qu[oque anno senatus decrevit. Ex iis] votís s[ae]pe fecerunt

- 25 **vívo me** [ludos aliquotiens sacerdotu]m quattuor amplissima  
**conlé[gia,** aliquotiens consules. **Privat]**im etia[m] et múnicipa-  
**tim úniver[si** cives unanimiter continente]r apud omnia pul-  
**vinária** pro vale[tudine mea sacrificaverunt.

10. **Nómen** meum senatus consulto inc]lusum est in saliáre  
 carmen et sacro-

- 30 san[ctus ut essem perpetuo et q]uoa[d] víverem, tribúnicia  
 potestás  
**mihí** [esset, per legem sanctum est. Pontif]ex maximus ne fierem  
 in vív[í] [c]onle[gae locum, populo id sace]rdotium deferente mihi,  
 quod pater (meu[s]) habuerat, recusavi. Quod sacerdotium aliquod  
 post annós, eó **mor[tuo,** recepi, qui id tumultus o]ccasione occupa-  
 verat §,

- IV. cuncta ex Italia [ad mea comitia confluyente mu]ltitudine, quan-  
 ta(m) Romae nun[q]uam [antea fuisse mentionem fecerunt],  
 P. Sulpicio C.  
 Valgio consulibu[s] §.

11. **Aram** Fortunae Reducis ante ae]dés Honoris et Virtutis  
 ad portam

- 5 **Capenam** pro reditu meo se]nátus consecravit, in qua ponti[lices et  
 virgines Vestales anni]versárium sacrificium facere [iussit eo  
 die, quo consulibus Q. Luc]retio et [M. Vinici]o in urbem ex  
 [Syria redi-  
 eram, et diem Augustali]a ex [c]o[gnomine nost]ro appellavit.

12. S(enatus) c(onsulto) eodem tempor]e pars [praetorum et  
 tri]bunorum [plebi cum consule Q. Lu-

- 10 cret]io et princi[pi]bus [virís ob]viam mihi mis[s]a e[st] in  
 Campan]ia[m, qui  
 honos [ad hoc tempus] nemini praeter [m]e es[t] decretus. Cu]m  
 ex H[ispá]niá Gal-  
 liaque, rebus in í[s] p]rovinciis prosp[e]re [gest]i[s], R[omam  
 redi], Ti. Ne[r]one et  
 P. Qui[n]tilio co[s.], áram [Pacis A]u[g]ust[ae] senatus pro]  
 redi[t]ú meo co[nsacrandam]

censuit] ad cam[pum Martium, in qua ma]gistratús et sac[er-  
dotes et virgines

15 V[est]á[les anniversarium sacrific]ium facer[e iussit.

13. Janum] Quirin[um, quem cl]aussum ess[e maiores nostri  
voluer]unt, [cum  
p]er totum i[mperium po]puli Roma[ni terra marique es]set  
parta vic[torii]s  
pax, cum, pr[ius quam] náscerer, [a condita] u[rb]e bis omnino  
clausum  
f]uisse prodátur m[emori]ae, ter me principi[pe senat]us clauden-  
dum esse censui[t].

20 14. Filios meos, quós iuv[enes mi]hi eripuit for[tuna],  
Gaium et Lucium

Caesares, honoris mei caussá, senatus populusque Romanus annum  
quíntum et decimum agentís consulés designávit, ut [e]um  
magistrá-  
tum inírent post quinquennium. Et ex eó die, quó deducti  
[s]unt in  
forum, ut interessent consiliís publicís decrevit sena[t]us. §  
Equites

25 [a]utem Románi universi principem iuventútis utrumque eórum  
parm[is] et hastís argenteís donátum appelláverunt. §

15. Plebei Románae viritim sestertium trecenos numeravi ex  
testámento  
patris meí, § et nomine meo sestertium quadringenos ex bellórum  
manibiís  
cos. quantum dedí, iterum autem in consulátu decimo ex  
[p]atrimonio

30 meo sestertium quadringenos congiári viritim p[er]numer[a]vi, §  
et consul  
undecimum duodecim frúmentátiones frúmento pr[i]vatim  
coémpto  
emensus sum, § et tribuni-ciá potestáte duodecimum quadringenos  
nummós tertium viritim dedí. Quae mea congiaria p[e]rvener-  
unt ad [homi]-

V. num mília nunquam minus quinquáginta et ducenta. §

- T]ribu[nic]iae potestátis duodevicensimum consul xii trecentís  
et vigintí mil-  
libus plebís urbánae sexagenós denariós viritim dedi, § et  
colon[i]s  
militum meórum consul quintum ex manibís viritim míllia  
5 nummum singula dedi; § acceperunt id triumphále congiárium  
in co-  
lo[n]ís hominum circiter centum et viginti míllia. § Consul  
tertium dec[i]mum sexagenós denáriós plebeí, quae tum  
frúmentum  
publicum accipieba[t], dedi; ea míllia hominum paullo plúra  
quam  
ducenta fuerunt. §
- 10 16. Pecuniam [pro] agrís, quós in consulátu meó quáto et  
postea consu-  
libus M. Cr[asso e]t Cn. Lentulo augure adsignávi militibus,  
solví  
múnicipis. Ea [s]u[mma sest]ertium circiter sexsiens milliens  
fuit,  
quam [p]ró Italicís praed[ís] numeravi, § et ci[r]citer bis  
mill[ie]ns et  
sescentiens, quod pro agrís próvin[c]iálibus solví. § Id primus et  
15 s[olus] omnium, qui [d]edúxerunt coloniás militum in Italiá aut in  
provinciis, ad memor[i]a(m) aetátis meae feci. Et postea Ti.  
Nerone et Cn.  
Pisone consulibus, § item[q]ue C. Antistio et D. Laelio  
consulibus, et  
C. Calvisio et L. Pasieno consulibus, et L. Le[ntulo et] M. Messalla  
consulibus, § et L. Cáninio § et Q. Fabricio co[s.] milit[ibus],  
qu]ós emeriteis  
20 stipendís in sua municipi[a dedux]i, praem[ia n]umeráto  
persolví, § quam  
in rem seste[r]tium] q[uater m]illien[s ci]r[cite]r impendi.
17. Quater [pe]cuniá meá iuví aerárium, ita ut sestertium  
míllien[s] et  
quing[en]t[ie]s ad eós qui praerant aerário detulerim. Et M.  
Lep[i]do et

L. Ar[r]unt[i]o consulibus i[n] aerarium militare, quod ex consilio

- 25 m[eo] co[nstitut]um est, ex [q]uo praemia darentur militibus, qui vicena aut plu[ra] sti[pendi]a emeruissent, sestertium milliens et septing[e]nti[ens] ex pa[t]rim[onio] [m]eo detuli. §

18. Inde ab eo anno, q[uo] Cn. et P. Lentuli c[ons]ules fuerunt, cum d[e]ficerent pu[blicae] o[pe]s, tum centum millibus h[omi]num tu[m]pluribus mul[to], fru[men-]

- 30 tarios et numma[ri]os t[ributus ex agro] et pat[rimonio] m[eo] [dedi].

VI. 19. Cúriam et continens ei Chalcidicum, templumque Apollinis in Pal-

atio cum porticibus, aedem dívi Iulí, Lupercal, porticum ad circum

Fláminium, quam sum appellári passus ex nómine eius quí priórem

- 5 eódem in solo fecerat Octaviam, pulvinar ad circum maximum, aedés in Capitólio Iovis Feretrí et Iovis Tonantis, § aedem Quiriní, § aedés

Minervae (§) et Iunónis Reginae (§) et Iovis Libertatis in Aventíno, § aedem

Larum in summá sacrá viá, (§) aedem deum Penátium in Velia, § aedem Iuv-

entátis, (§) aedem Mátris Magnae in Palátio féci. §

20. Capitoliū et Pompeium theatrum utrumque opus impensá grandí

- 10 reféci sine ullá inscriptione nominis meí. § Rívos aquarum complúribus locís vetustáte labentés reféci, § et aquam quae appellátur

Márcia duplicavi fonte novo in rivum eius inmisso. § Forum Iúlium et basilicam, quae fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni, coep-

ta profligataque opera á patre meó perféci § et eandem basilicam con-

- 15 sumptam incendio ampliáto eius solo sub titulo nominis filiórū  
m[eorum i]nchoavi [§] et, si vivus nōn perfecissem, perfici ab  
heredib[us  
meis iussi]. § Duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sex-  
t[um ex auctoritáte] senátus refeci, nullo praetermisso quod e[o]  
temp[ore  
refici debebat]. § Con[s]ul septimum viam Flaminiam a[b urbe]  
Ari[mi-  
20 num refeci pontesque] omnes praeter Mulvium et Minucium.  
21. In privato solo Mártis Ultoris templum [f]orumque  
Augustum [ex  
mani]b[us] feci. § Theatrum ad aedem Apollinis in solo magná  
ex parte  
á p[r]i[v]atis empto feci, quod sub nómine M. Marcell[i] generi  
mei esset. §  
Don[a e]x manib[us] in Capitolio et in aede divi Iú[l]i et in aede  
Apollinis  
25 et in aede Vestae et in templo Martis Ultoris consacravi, quae  
mihi con-  
stiterunt sestertium circiter milliens. § Aurí coronári pondo tri-  
ginta et quinque mília múnicipiis et colonis Italiae conferentibus  
ad triumphó[s] meos quintum consul remisi, et postea,  
quotie(n)scumque  
imperátor a[ppe]llátus sum, aurum coronarium nōn accepi,  
decernenti-  
30 bus municipii[s] et coloni[s] aequ[e] beni[g]ne adque antea  
decreverant. §  
22. T[e]r munus gladiatorium dedí meo nomine et quin-  
quiens<sup>15</sup> filiórū me[o]-  
rum aut n[e]pótum nomine; quibus muneribus depugnaverunt  
hominu[m]  
ci[re]iter decem millia. § Bis [at]hletarum undique accitorum  
spec[ta]c[ulu(m)]<sup>16</sup>  
populo pra[ebui meo] nómine et tertium nepo[tis] meí nomine.  
§ L[u]dos

<sup>15</sup> The *Mon. Anc.* has quinquens.

<sup>16</sup> The *Mon. Anc.* has spec[ta]c[ulu(m)].



- 35 feci m[eo no]m[in]e quater, aliorum autem m[agist]rátu[um]  
vicem ter et ví-  
cie[ns]. § [Pr]o conlegio xv virórum magis[ter conl]e[gi]í  
colleg[a] M.  
Agrippa § lud[os s]aecl[are]s C. Furnio C. [S]ilano cos. [feci].  
C[on]sul xiii ludos

VII. Mar[tia]les pr[im]us feci, qu[os] p[ost] i[d] tempus deincep[s]  
ins[equen]ti[bus]  
ann[is] [ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) mecum fecerunt co]n[su]les. §  
[Ven]ati[o]n[es] best[ia]rum Afri-  
canárum meo nómine aut filio[rum] meórum et nepotum in  
ci[r]co aut  
i[n] foro aut in amphitheatris popul[o d]edi sexiens et viciens,  
quibus con-

- 5 fecta sunt bestiarum circiter tria m[ill]ia et quingentae.

23. Navalis proeli spectaculum populo de[di tr]ans Tiberim, in  
quo loco nunc

nemus est Caesarum, cavato [solo] in longitud(inem) mille et  
octingentós pedes, §

in lát(itudine[m]) mille e[t] ducenti. In quo triginta rostratae  
náves trirémes a[ut bire]m[es], §

plures autem minóres inter se conflixérunt. Q[ui]bus in] classi-

- 10 bus pugnaverunt praeter rémigés millia ho[minum tr]ia  
circiter. §

24. In templis omniú[m] civitátium pr[ovinci]ae Asiae victor  
ornamen-

ta reposui, quae spoliátis tem[plis is] cum quó bellum gesseram  
privátim

possederat. § Statuae [mea]e pedestrés et equestres et in  
quadrigeis argen-

teae steterunt in urbe xxc ci(r)citer, quas ipse sustuli § exque  
eá pecuniá

- 15 dona aurea in áede Apol[li]nis meó nomine et illórum, qui mihi  
statuá-

rum honórem habuerunt, posui. §

25. Mare pacávi á praedonibus. Eó bello servórum, qui  
fugerant á domin-  
is suis et arma contrá rem publicam céperant, triginta fere millia  
capta § dominis ad supplicium sumendum tradidi. § Iuravit in  
mea verba
- 20 tóta Italia sponte suá et me be[lli], quó víci ad Actium, ducem  
deposeit.  
§ Iuraverunt in (ea)dem ver[ba próvi]nciae Galliae Hispaniae  
Africa  
Sicilia Sardinia. § Qui sub [signis meis tum] militaverint,  
fuerunt se-  
nátóres plúres quam DCC, in íi[s consulares et qui pos]teá  
consules fac-  
tí sunt ad eum diem quó scripta su[nt haec, LXXXIII,  
sacerdo]tés ci[re]i-
- 25 ter CLXX. §
26. Omnium prów[inciarum populi Romani], quibus finitimae  
fuerunt gentés  
quae n[ón] parerent imperio nos]tro, fines auxi. Gallias et  
Hispaniás pró-  
vinciá[s et Germaniam qua inclu]dit Oceanus a Gádibus ad  
óstium Albis  
flúm[inis pacavi. Alpes a re]gióne eá, quae proxima est Hadriá-  
30 nó mari, [ad Tuscum pacificav]i nulli gentí bello per iniú-  
riam inlato. § Cla[ssis mea per Oceanum] ab óstio Rhéni ad só-  
lis orientis regionem usque ad fi[nes Cimbroru]m navigavit, § quó  
neque terra neque mari quisquam Romanus ante id tempus adít,  
§ Cimbri-  
que et Charydes et Semnones et eiusdem tractús alíi Germánórum  
35 popu[l]i per legátós amicitiam meam et populi Románi  
petierunt. §  
Meo iussú et auspicio ducti sunt [duo] exercitús eódem fere  
tempore in Aethiopiam et in Ar[a]biam, quae appel[latur]  
eudaemón,  
[maxim]aeque hos[t]ium gentís utr[iu]sque cop[iae] caesae sunt  
in acie et [c]om[plur]a oppida capta.



VIII. In Aethiopiam usque ad oppidum Nabata pervent[um] est, cui  
proxima

est Meroë. In Arabiam usque in fines Sabaeorum pro[cess]it  
exerc[it]us  
ad oppidum Mariba. §

27. Aegyptum imperio populi [Ro]mani adieci. § Armeniam  
maiores in-

5 terfecto rege eius Artaxe § e[um] possem facere provinciam,  
maui ma-

iorum nostrorum exemplo regn[u]m id Tigrani, regis Artavasdis  
filio,

nepoti autem Tigranis regis, per T[i. Ne]ronem trad[er]e, qui  
tum mihi

priv[ig]nus erat. Et eandem gentem postea d[esc]iscentem et  
rebellan-

tem domit[a]m per Gaium filium meum regi Ario[barz]ani, regis  
Medorum

10 Artaba[zi] filio, regendam tradidi § et post e[ius] mortem filio  
eius

Artavasdi. § Quo [inte]rfecto [Tigra]ne(m), qui erat ex regio  
genere Armeniorum

oriundus, in id re[gnum] misi. § Provincias omnes, quae trans  
Hadri-

anum mare vergun[t a]d orien[te]m, Cyrenasque, iam ex parte  
magna

regibus eas possidentibus, e[t] antea Siciliam et Sardiniam  
occupatas

15 bello servili reciperavi. §

28. Colonias in Africa Sicilia [M]acedonia utraque Hispania  
Achai[a]

Asia S[y]ria Gallia Narbonensi Pi[si]dia militum deduxi. §  
Italia

autem xxviii [colo]nias, quae vivo me celeberrimae et  
frequentissimae

fuerunt, me[a auctoritate] deductas habet.

20 29. Signa militaria complur[a per] alios d[uc]es am[issa]  
devictis hostibus re-

cipe]raví ex Hispania et [Gallia et a Dalm]ateis. § Parthos trium  
exercitum **Ro-**  
man[o]rum spolia et signa re[ddere] mihi supplicesque amicitiam  
populí  
Romaní petere coegi. § Ea autem si[gn]a in penetrálí, quod e[s]t  
ín templo **Mar-**  
tis Vltoris, reposui.

- 25 30. Pannoniorum gentes, qua[s a]nte me principem populi  
Romaní exercitus  
nunquam ad[i]t, devíctas per Ti. [Ne]ronem, qui tum erat  
privignus et legátus  
meus, ímperio populi Romani s[ubie]ci, protulique finés Illyrici  
ad r[ip]am flú-  
minis Dan[u]i. Citr[a] quod [D]a[cor]u[m tr]an[s]gressus  
exercitus meis a[u]s-  
p[icis] vict[us] profligatusque [est, et] pos[teá tran]s Dan[u]vium  
ductus ex[ercitus]

- 30 me]u[s] Da[cor]um gentes im[peria] populi Romani perferre  
coegit.]

31. Ad me ex In[di]a regum legationes saepe missae sunt,  
nunquam antea  
visae] apud qu[em]q[uam] R[omanorum du]cem. § Nostram  
am[icitiam] petierunt  
per legat[os] B[a]starn[ae Scythae]que et Sarmatarum q[ui]  
sunt citra  
flu]men Tanaim [adque u]ltrá reg[es, Alba]norumque réx et  
Hibér[orum et Medorum].

- 35 32. Ad mé supp[lic]es confug[erunt] regés Parthorum  
Tírida[tes et posteá] Phrát[es] §

IX. regis Phrati[s filius]; § Medorum [Artavasdes; Adiabenorum  
A]rtaxa-  
res; § Britann[o]rum Dumnobellau[nus] et Tin[commius]  
Sugambr]orum  
Maelo; § Mar[c]omanórum Sueboru[m Tudmerus. Ad me rex]  
Parthorum

Phrates, Orod[i]s filius, filiós suós nepot[esque omnes misit] in  
Italiam,

- 5 non bello superátu[s], sed amicitiam nostram per [liberórum]  
suorum  
pignora petens. § Plúrimaeque aliae gentes exper[tae sunt fidem  
populi  
Romani] me principe, quibus antea cum populo Roman[o nullum  
extite-  
ra]t legationum et amicitiae [c]ommercium. §

33. A me gentes Parthórum et Médóru[m per legatos]  
principes eárum gen-  
10 tium régés pet[i]tós accéperunt: Par[thi Vononem, regis  
Phr]átis filium,  
régis Oródis nepótem, § Médi Ar[iobarzanem], regis Artavazdis  
filium,  
regis Ariobarzanis nep[otem].

34. In consulátu sexto et septimo, b[ella ubi civil]ia  
exstinxeram,  
per consénsu[m úniversórum [potitus rerum omn]ium, rem  
publicam ex  
15 meá potestáte § in senát[us populique Romani a]rbitrium  
transtulí.  
Quó pro merito meó senatu[s consulto Augustus appe]llátus sum  
et laureís  
postés aedium meárum v[estiti publice coronaq]ue civíca super  
iánuam  
meam fixa est § [clupeusque aureu]s in [c]úríá Iúliá positus,  
quem mi-  
hi senatum [populumque Romanu]m dare virtutis clem[entia]e  
ius-  
20 titia[e et pietatis caussá testatum] est pe[r e]ius clúpei [inscrip-  
tion]em. § Post id tem[pus auctóritáte praestiti omnibus,  
potest]atis au[tem  
n]ihilo ampli[us habui quam céteri qui fuerunt m]ihi quoque in  
ma[gis]tra[t]u conlegae. §

35. Tertium dec[i]mum consulátu[m cum gērebam, senatus et  
equ]ester ordo
- 25 populusq[ue] Románus úniversus [appellavit me patrem p]atriae  
idque  
in vestibulo a]edium meárum inscriben[dum et in curiá e]t in  
foró Aug. sub quadrig[i]s, quae mihi [ex] s. c. pos[itae sunt,  
decrevit. Cum scri]psi haec, annum agebam septuagensu[mum  
sextum.
1. Summá pecún[i]ae, quam ded[it in aerarium vel plebei  
Romanae vel di]missis
- 30 militibus: denarium se[xi]e[ns milliens.
2. Opera fecit nova § aedem Martis, [Iovis Tonantis et  
Feretri, Apollinis,  
dívi Iúli, § Quirini, § Minervae, [Iunonis Reginae, Iovis  
Libertatis,  
Larum, deum Penátium, § Iuv[entatis, Matris deum, Lupercal,  
pulpina]r  
ad circum, § cúriam cum Ch[alcidico, forum Augustum, basilica]m
- 35 Iuliam, theatrum Marcelli, § [p]or[ticum Octaviam, nemus trans  
T]iberím Caesarum. §
3. Refécit Capito[lium sacra]sque aedes [nu]m[ero octoginta]  
duas, thea[t]rum Pom-  
peí, aqu[arum rivos, vi]am Flamin[iam].
4. Ímpensa [praestita in spect]acul[a scaenica et munera]  
gladiatorum
- 40 at[que] athletas et venationes et naum]ach[iam] et donata  
pe[c]unia  
colonis, municipiis, oppidis ter]rae mótu § incendioque  
consumpt[is] a[ut  
viritim] a[micis senat]oribusque, quorum census explévit,  
in[n]umera[bili]s. §

## COMMENTARY.

*Prooemium.* Plate 1 shows the fragments which I have been able to join together in the preface of the *Index Rerum Gestarum Divi Augusti*. The upper part of most of the fragments of line 3 gives the original edge of the stones so that the first two lines must have been engraved on a separate stone or on separate stones. From lines 1 and 2 only one fragment survives and that has an original lower edge. The first letter might be I or T, but as there is no punctuation between I and A it cannot represent *divi Augusti*, and can only fit the word *gestarum*. The letters of the four lines of the preface are in the *scriptura monumentalis*, whereas the main text is in the *scriptura actuaria*, where the T and long I are often taller than the other letters. The plates show the forms of letters and the differences in their style due to several different hands which did the carving. The letters of the preface diminish in height, 0.04 m. in line 1, 0.03 m. in line 2, 0.025 m. in line 3, 0.02 m. in line 4. These fragments prove that Von Premerstein's idea (pp. 97, 98) of two lines of 107 and 78 letters respectively is wrong, but that he is right in opposing Kornemann's shorter heading and in thinking, as Ehrenberg also does, that the wording was identical with that of the *Mon. Anc.* The only difference is that *R[omae]* is placed after *positae*. My arrangement of the lines is a little awkward but no other seems possible in view of the fragments. Perhaps *Rerum gestarum* was set off as a special title above the middle of the three lines which contain 56, 58 and 57 letters respectively. In any case the superscription was not over the middle of the whole text or of the first half or over columns IV and V. It was not part of the first two columns, as Ehrenberg (p. 196) suggests. Kornemann, Ehrenberg, Von Premerstein and others have all been misled by a fragment (Ramsay, p. 127, Fig. 12 i) which Kornemann put in his shortened preface with a changed order of words, an interpretation which Ramsay said "has everything in its favor" (p. 128). I have copied and squeezed and photographed this fragment which I found in the museum at Konia. The letters are only 0.015 m. to 0.017 m. high and in different style from

the preface, somewhat like those of chapter 4. This fragment should be placed in chapter 4, *quinquagiens . . . supplicandum . . . cónsulto*. There is no A even in Ramsay's copy, so that *in duabus* is unlikely. The traces of a letter after the letters *du* fit M. The traces in the third line of this fragment are certainly not those of POS of *positae*. This would necessitate such an impossible arrangement as Ehrenberg gives (p. 195), of one very long line with two shorter ones in the middle below. Nor is Ehrenberg's *exercitum* (p. 196) possible for this fragment. The preservation of the word *exemplar* makes me agree with Ehrenberg that the words *exemplar subiectum* are not a misunderstanding of the people of Ancyra (Mommsen XI f.), "inserted only by a blunder" (Fairley, p. 13). They were perhaps added in the copy sent from Rome to the provinces for inscribing on monuments of Augustus. Because of the differences in text and arrangement it is not likely, as some believe, that the *Mon. Ant.* was copied from the *Mon. Anc.*, but rather direct from Rome or from the letter of some Galatian legate. The title embraces only two of the three parts into which the subject matter falls, but that is no reason for believing, as Fairley (p. 13) and others do, that the Roman inscription was devoid of title. Its original form at Rome probably was *Index Rerum Gestarum . . . fecit*, with omission of the words *incisarum* to *subiectum*.

Another theory that has led to error with regard to the preface has been that the Antioch inscription was carved on the walls to the right and left of the staircase which led up to the Temple of Augustus,<sup>17</sup> or on two buildings at the top of the staircase. Ramsay (p. 108) thought that the beginning was "on the building at the south summit of the stairs, perhaps on its front." Our

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Am. J. Arch. XXVIII, 1924, p. 437, fig. 1, p. 438, fig. 2. The material of the exterior of the temple was a fine-grained whitish limestone and not marble as Ramsay (p. 107) wrongly says. Our excavations have found most of the rinceau, architrave, frieze, all four pediment corners, parts of the walls and columns, acroteria and numerous other architectural parts, enough to reconstruct the temple. So the exterior is by no means "now almost all lost." There is now no doubt that this was a Corinthian temple with a two-story circular colonnade behind and not, as Ramsay said in his "Cities of St. Paul" (1908), p. 254, pl. IX, "perhaps only the site of an Odeon."



excavations have revealed no such building and no fragments have been found on the south summit. Ehrenberg (pp. 196-197) thinks that the Antioch inscription may have been on two opposite walls or equally well on two pillars like the two brazen pillars at Rome,<sup>18</sup> or continuously on one wall like the Greek inscription at Ancyra. The place of finding of the fragments and the similarity of the fine-grained whitish limestone with its smooth surface to the material of four profiled bases on the staircase (which contrasts with the dark gray limestone of the stairs themselves)<sup>19</sup> makes it likely that the inscription was carved on the four pedestals, the faces of which were about three meters in front of the engaged columns which divided the Propylaea into three passage-ways (pl. VIIb).<sup>20</sup> The fact that many letters overlap the joint of two stones as V in *populum* and T in *positae* shows that the inscription was cut after the pedestals were in place. If only the front were inscribed, there would be only four parts; but if all visible sides were inscribed then there would be ten parts. But we have evidence for nine columns, so that I believe that two columns of writing stood on each front face of the four pedestals except the last which had only one column of letters. Columns V and VI were probably cut facing each other on the inner sides of the two central pedestals, col-

<sup>18</sup> Kornemann, *Mausoleum und Tatenbericht des Augustus*, pp. 13 ff., rightly thinks that these were free-standing and that the inscription was not on two pillars which formed an entrance through such a circular wall as Gardthausen (*Augustus I*, pp. 1279 f.; *II*, pp. 874 f.) supposes. In *Röm. Mitt.* XXXVII, 1922, pp. 142-144 Gardthausen puts the inscription on the inner side of two projecting stone supports, which he thinks were covered with bronze, on either side of the entrance, "an wie vor dem Mausoleum."

<sup>19</sup> For deposits of limestone in this region cf. Philippson, *Handbuch der regionalen Geologie*, V, 2 (Kleinasien), 1918, pl. 1.

<sup>20</sup> These bases rest on the fifth step from the bottom (*Am. J. Arch. I. c.*, p. 438, fig. 2). The one at the north is 2.19 m. long, 0.55 to 0.30 m. thick, 0.32 m. high, but there was a stone against this for about 0.57 m. from the north so that only 1.62 m. appeared. The next toward the south is 1.62 m. long, 0.55 m. thick, 0.32 m. high; the third one is gone and the last one to the south is 1.62 m. long, 0.55 m. thick, 0.32 m. high, with a bronze dowel still holding it in place on the stone below. On no fragment of the *Res Gestae* is the original back preserved, but some of the fragments are more than 0.25 m. thick, as the large one from chapter 22 now in Konia.

umns VII and VIII on the front of the third pedestal toward the south, column IX on the north half of the face of the pedestal furthest to the south. The front faces were much more damaged and the side surfaces with columns V and VI better preserved. This arrangement has been confirmed by the architect of the Michigan expedition, Mr. F. J. Woodbridge, who has identified at least two blocks (1.10 m. high) as definitely coming from these pedestals. The surfaces were chipped off by some instrument. No such surface damage was due to the short fall of the blocks caused by an earthquake or to débris striking on the blocks. The fragments of the inscription are of the same stone and were chipped off in a way which proves that they came from these blocks. Each pedestal was 1.80 m. across and of two blocks in front. It ran back on the sides as a cheek of the step. The side surface was irregularly triangular and perhaps two meters long. The total height was 1.30 m. or less. So these measurements leave an abundance of space for the nine columns of the *Res Gestae*. One striking coincidence is that the block preserved from the south half of the south pedestal was not inscribed, so that the ninth column, as we have said, must have occupied the north half (pl. VIIb). Most of the fragments of the explanatory preface and of the first sections were found below the stairs at the north side of the Tiberia Platea. The inscription, then, surely started at the north side at the lower part of the stairs and not at the south summit, as Ramsay (p. 108) suggests. The inscription continued toward the south so that the appendix would be at the south and not at the left or north summit, as Ramsay (p. 109) believes. The inscription would be read from left to right as at Ancyra.

There is no need of further explanation of the erection of the inscription in a formal decree or statement placed at the beginning (Ramsay, p. 108). Ramsay's idea that "the preface was placed at the end of the monument" is proved to be wrong by the absolutely certain joins which I have made of the fragments of the beginning of chapter 4 (Pl. 1), where the letters are 0.015 m. high and the space between the lines also 0.015 m. Not only do the stones join but the lower part of the E and a bit of the X of *exemplar* still survive on the stone with *triumphavi*. The width of the preface would be about 1.60 m., about the length of the bases. It went over two columns or *paginae*



(0.50 m. wide) of the text, not over two and a half columns as at Ancyra. There were 23 lines of 44 to 57 letters in the full lines in the first column. The second, beginning with chapter 4, seems to have had one line more. At Antioch there is much doubt about the exact length of the lines. In column 1 the original edge is only preserved after *domi* and the lines 6-9 at the right. Ehrenberg (p. 196) is wrong in making column I contain besides two lines of heading 31 more lines (*Mon. Anc. I, 1-31*). It really contains only the first twenty lines of the *Mon. Anc.* and column II contains only 24 lines and not 32 lines in addition to 2 lines of heading (*Mon. Anc. I, 32-II, 17*), as Ehrenberg supposed. The letters V M F E in line 3 take up a space of 0.12 m. and P V L V occupy 0.10 m., so that a line in the title of 58 letters would be more than 1.50 m. wide, probably, as we have said, about 1.60 m. It is impossible to be exact, as the letters are unevenly placed and not *stoichedon* throughout the whole inscription. The height of the first two lines as preserved is 0.12 m., from the top of line 3 to the top of *triumphavi* 0.09 m. The letters in chapters 1 to 5 are in general 0.015 m. in height with 0.015 m. spacing between the lines, so that the total height including the heading would be  $23 \times 0.03 \text{ m.} + 0.09 \text{ m.} + 0.12 \text{ m.}$  or 0.90 m. But some of the columns may have been 1.20 m. or more high. The space between the heading and the top of *triumphavi* is 0.03 m. and the height of the part preserved from the top of *triumphavi* to the bottom of *Arruntio* (14 lines) is 0.42 m. Seven lines here are equivalent in height to the four in the heading. So 30 lines of ordinary text would occupy the height of 0.90 m., but in the latter portions there are more letters as a rule in each line and the letters and spacing are not so high, often only 0.013 m. or 0.014 m. high. The columns would be about 0.80 m. wide. Column V was certainly 30 lines long, as part of every line is preserved. Column VII, corresponding to 37 lines of the copy at Ancyra, certainly extended from *Martialis* (22) to *oppida capta* (26), since the first letters of this and the following *paginae* are preserved. But, as the lines are shorter at Antioch, this column was probably 39 lines long. Being five steps (about 1.25 m.) up from the Tiberia Platea the inscription was conspicuous and more easily read than if it had been carved on the temple of Augustus, which was probably built before his death. Further-

more, the letters were colored red, as traces of red paint were preserved in fragments from many different chapters.

In general the lines have about 51 letters, but the number can be as low as 42 or as high as 66. Line 3 in chapter 23 may have been even longer, if *latitudinem* were written out. The problem is still further complicated by the fact that a short and long line can occur consecutively as in chapter 15 where the first line of column V has 42 and the next 66 letters. The number of paragraphs and appendices is the same as in *Mon. Anc.* and only a few readings are different, as noted in the commentary. Paragraph signs and accents or apices are frequently omitted at Antioch where they occur at Ancyra, and *vice versa*. Abbreviations sometimes are used at Antioch where the words are written in full at Ancyra and the reverse is also true. Sometimes the order of words is changed. The lines themselves are different, being about 5 letters shorter in the earlier part than in the *Mon. Anc.* The columns also are different. Instead of the six columns<sup>21</sup> in the *Mon. Anc.* we have at Antioch nine columns, not eight as Ehrenberg (p. 196) had so elaborately worked out. His conclusions thus fall to the ground. Col. I contained preface plus 23 lines, II preface plus 24 lines, III had 34 lines, IV had 33 lines, V which coincided in its beginning with *Mon. Anc.* IV had 30 lines, VI had 37 lines, VII had 39 lines, VIII had 35 lines, and IX had 42 lines, 297 lines in all.

The text as we have reconstructed it would leave no room for the idea of Kornemann (followed by Ramsay p. 129) that the erection of the *Mon. Ant.* was an act of loyalty on the part of an individual. The fragment (Ramsay, p. 127, Fig. 12 b) does not read PA·TES (see below, p. 50). The P is clearly an S (see plate VI). Ramsay's *pater testamento* and Kornemann's *patris testamento* are impossible. Thus the theory of a citizen of Antioch who erected "the monument in honor of the deified Augustus, which his father had in his will ordered to be placed," falls to the ground, as it is supported only by a fragment which certainly belongs in chapter 34 (see below). The fragments (Ramsay, p. 127, Fig. 12 e, f, g and h) which are restored

<sup>21</sup> Shipley, p. 333, thinks that this arrangement was in general a replica of that of the inscription at Rome. But, since the Antioch copy differs, this is not certain.

(Ramsay, p. 129) to read *grato animo . . . voto soluto . . . sua pecunia* and *civi optimo* can be better placed elsewhere.

Chapter 1. Mommsen and all other editors have failed to restore *a* before *dominatione*, which is made certain by the new fragment. Von Premerstein (p. 98) is wrong in putting here the fragment in Ramsay (p. 127, Fig. 12 g) which I was unable to find in Konia. That fragment with DO goes rather in chapter 24 or 25 or 27 or, best of all, in chapter 9. The original right edge of the stone, where I have fitted together two fragments, corresponds with the ends of lines 6 to 9, and is a continuation of the edge of the same stone as seen in the preface to the right of *populu*. In line 9 the fragment has *in* before *bello* so that for the restoration *cos. uterque bello* we must read *consul uterque in bello*. Cagnat (p. 66) wrongly omits *bello*. Kornemann (p. 34) would read *cum uterque in bello* and omit *consul*. The number of letters needed in the line requires *consul* for *cos.*, which is read by Mommsen, Fairley, Diehl, Shipley, etc.<sup>22</sup> Bormann (1895) and Cagnat rightly read *consul*. In line 10 belongs the fragment which Ramsay (pp. 114-115) put in chapter 8, *multarum rerum* (followed by Von Premerstein, p. 98). The fragment, which is to-day in Konia (0.10 m. wide, 0.08 m. high, letters 0.015 m. high), reads VIRVMR.

The fragment which I at first fitted into l. 4 into *Quas ob res* and so arranged on pl. I, I now prefer to put in c. 4 in *triumphos* and *fascibus* and to fit into *factionis* and the new restoration *Qua ratione senatus* the second fragment in the second row on pl. VIIa. Despite his good teachers Augustus does not always use the best of Latin. But cf. Caesar, B. G. 1, 28, *ea ratione . . . quod*.

2. The fragment with VNT must go at the beginning of a paragraph as it has a smooth space 0.04 m. high and a paragraph sign above the letters. It cannot go in chapter 18, as another fragment gives the VNT there. Nor can it go in *confugerunt*

<sup>22</sup> Kornemann (p. 24) rejects *cos.* because "die ältesten Teile des Dokuments alle das volle Wort aufweisen." But our new text proves that his conclusions based on the use of *cos.* or *consulibus* are impossible because in several cases (pp. 36 f., 39, 40) the full form is used at Antioch for the abbreviation at Ancyra and vice versa.

in chapter 32, because there are traces of another line and *confugerunt* is in the last line of column VIII. The fragment with *postea* has a smooth space 0.045 m. high below, showing that it came at the end of a paragraph.

3. If the two fragments of lines 1 to 3 go here (and they do not seem to fit anywhere else, not even *sacrosanctus ut* in chapter 10) then we have confirmation of Hirschfeld's restoration, *veniam petentibus*, against Mommsen's *superstitibus*, which is adopted by Fairley, Hardy, and Cagnat. The fragment placed in lines 7 and 8 may not belong here, but it fits the words *plura* and *pro* and seems to join the fragment with *aliquanto* below *remisi*.

4. All editors have failed to restore *et* before *tris egi*. The number of letters required and Suetonius, Aug. 22, confirm Mommsen's *egi* against Von Premerstein's *habui* (p. 106). The fragment VT.CV probably goes in chapter 6. All editors have also omitted the copula *et* between *viciens* and *semel*, though the Greek has *καί*. Kornemann (p. 20) rightly says "Zwei zu einer Zahl gehörige Ziffern sind durch *et* verbunden," but he thought that this passage was an exception. The fragment with CVR goes here, as it has the same style of lettering, spacing, and color. In line 4 of this section the B is certain, so that *fascibus*, the reading of Wehofer, a pupil of Bormann (1895) is confirmed against Mommsen's *laur]us*. The letter before VS cannot be R, and I thought that I saw traces of IB before VS at Angora. I prefer *fascibus* alone, or *a fascibus*, to correspond to the Greek, rather than *de fascibus*, which is too long for the space. For the fragment which fits *supplicandum* cf. above p. 22. The size and style of the letters as well as the traces of letters themselves make the attribution here certain. Two lines below, the reading preserved is *fuere*. In the other twenty cases in this inscription the ending is *unt*. In the next to the last line of this chapter I prefer *et eram* or *eramque* (Kornemann p. 29) to *agebam* which Fairley, Hardy, Shipley, Sandys, and others adopt from Mommsen. Diehl and Cagnat following Gottanka, Bormann, and Schmidt read *et eram*. This follows the Greek *καὶ ἦμιν*. If one studies the *Mon. Anc.* in the light of the Antioch finds, he realizes that the Greek follows the Latin more closely than

most scholars have suspected. So, to get the proper arrangement of words, our text makes it necessary to omit the word *annum*, as Bergk, Bormann, Schmidt, and Cagnat do. Mommsen, Diehl, Shipley, and Sandys read *annum* after *trigensimum*. There is no *ετος* in the Greek (cf. also the middle of chapter 15). Mommsen wrongly estimated the lacuna as 27 letters. It is the end of a line and no letters were cut near the end, as the stone at Ancyra still shows.

5. If our arrangement of chapter 4 is right, three or four letters of *dictaturam* projected beyond the left edge of the column, since the *p* of *praesenti* comes under the *t* of *tribuniciae*. We have definite evidence of such projection in other cases. Ehrenberg (p. 194) is wrong in questioning Ramsay's reading of his fragment (p. 127, Fig. 12, 35). He proposes RAM for RLVN and fits the fragment into [*dictatu*]ram. He also then has to read *age*[bam] in the line above. We have restored *et eram* and put it two lines above. Ramsay was right, and the fragment goes where he finally put it, at the end of chapter 35 and at the beginning of appendix 1. It cannot go where he first suggested, in chapter 12 in *mageistratus*, which is an unlikely archaic spelling. What Ramsay gives as an L is I and fits into *aerarium* (cf. pl. VI for a photograph of the fragment, which was refound at Konia). So Ehrenberg's idea (p. 195) that column I containing 31 lines of the Ancyra copy ended here, falls to the ground, as we have already shown. In line 1 I restore *delatam*, as suggested by Schmidt, rather than Mommsen's *datam* or Wölfflin's *oblatam* because of the *dela*[tum] preserved in the last line of this section and because Augustus has a tendency to repeat the same words and phrases. Our next fragment reads *á se*[natu] and not simply *senatu* as all other editors have read (cf. Orosius VI 18, 34, *a senatu*). There is no need of Gottanka's, Schmidt's and Shipley's *Romano*, which is not in the Greek. In line 2 the fragment which I have joined with certainty to that with part of the word *curationem* shows that *recepti* should be read for *accepi*, which has been wrongly restored by all editors. Wherever the Greek has *εδεξάμην* (as in chapter 5, last word and c. 6), we should read *recepti*. The Greek rendering of *accepi* or *acceperunt* is *ελαβον* (c. 6 and 33). All editors have restored *recusavi* but the preserved letters RECA



on the fragment shown on pl. I and the letters DEP on the fragment which joins this at the left (pl. VIIa, first in last row) make certain the reading *deprecatus sum*. This after all corresponds more closely to the Greek *παρητησάμην*. In line 4 *perpaucos* fills the space even in the *Mon. Anc.* better than *paucos*, and our arrangement makes it necessary here. In line 5 our text confirms Mommsen's first restoration in the year 1865, *praesenti*, against that of *quo erat* in his second edition (1883), followed by Fairley. This is closer to the Greek *παρόντος*. I prefer Schmidt's *sumptibus* to *impensis*, not only because it fills the space better but because the Greek has *δαπάναις*, whereas elsewhere *impensae* is rendered by *ἀναλώματα*. The proper arrangement and number of letters needed seems to make it necessary to read *et quoque* (or *aeque*) *in perpetuum* (instead of *et perpetuum*) and to put *delatum* after *perpetuum* and not after *Consulatum mihi*, where Sandys and Cagnat read *mihi oblatum*, following Haug in Bursian's *Jahresbericht* LVI, 1888, p. 94. Mommsen, Fairley, Diehl, Shipley, and Hardy read *tum datum*. No one has thought of the correct reading *delatum*, though Schmidt suggested it for line 1.

6. For the spelling *Vinicio* cf. p. 36. Von Premerstein's suggestion about the fragment (Ramsay, p. 127, Fig. 12 h) that it is part of *ut curator* is better than his first idea that it is part of *habui curulis* in chapter 4. Ehrenberg (p. 191, note 4) suggests *vivi conlegae* but the traces in Ramsay's copy are those of V, not O. Unfortunately a diligent search both in Yalivadj and in Konia failed to locate the fragment and we must consider it lost. The fragment with VS.C seems to go here rather than in 13 in *senatus claudendum*. The traces in the second line of this fragment fit *delatum* better than *fortuna*. The letter after V is M, not N. The two fragments just discussed should be at the left and not at the right of column II on pl. I. One large fragment belongs in the lacuna in chapters 6 and 7 which none of the editors have restored. With the help of this fragment, three smaller ones and the Greek translation, a tentative restoration is given which undoubtedly can be improved by others, but it now seems worth while to make a beginning. The large fragment and the smaller one joined to it (0.20 m. high, 0.19 m. wide from beginning of *poposci* to end of *accepi*) have letters

0.015 m. high, the T of *et* and the I of *sacris* being 0.019 m. (the space between the lines 0.012 m.). Because the original top edge is preserved and it comes approximately where a column should begin, I conclude that it was the beginning of column III. In that case column II had 24 lines instead of the 23 in column I. In l. 3 I have followed the Greek order in restoring *legum morumque* instead of *morum legumque* as in Suetonius (Aug. 27). In l. 4 the Greek is ζθη, which is rendered by *exempla* in c. 8. So I prefer to restore *contra exempla*, though *instituta* or *mores* would be possible.

After *per* of *perfecei* there is a mark of punctuation. Such occurs after a preposition in compounds but not after a preposition by itself. The fragment with TRIB in the first line has the original top edge so that this must be in the first line of a column and it will fit nowhere else than in *tribunicia* here. But then it is necessary to restore the second line to include the M.ET. It would seem that *Romano* was abbreviated to ROM. as in the preface, and that the reading was *a sen(atu) Rom(ano) et pop. Rom.*, though the Greek mentions only the senate. There is a smooth space below, such as must have been left after *accepi*.

7. In the first line the reading was *trium virum rei publicae constituendae* as in chapter 1. *Virum* was written as a separate word and with a large V at the beginning. The text was not *triumviratum* as we should expect from Suetonius, Aug. 27, *triumviratum rei publicae constituendae per decem annos administravit*. Between the first S of *senatus* and the preserved M of *eum* with traces of D following there were probably 15 letters and likewise 15 letters between *quadra* of *quadraginta* and *fex* of *pontifex*. So, not to have too many letters in l. 4, we must read *VIIvirum*, not *septemvirum*. The fragment certainly goes here and the letters on the stone are clear, though not so on the photograph. The fragment cannot fit in chapter 10 where also we have *pontifex*, for the N is clear after VLO and so would not correspond to *populo id*. There is also a smooth space of 0.02 m. below VLON, showing that this fragment came at the end of a chapter. In line 2 Mommsen's restoration of *princeps* is confirmed against Kornemann's (p. 62) *primum dignitatis locum in senatu*, suggested by the Greek, πρῶτον ἀξιώματος τόπον, and against Von Premerstein's *primum auctori-*

*tatis locum*<sup>23</sup> (p. 105). Augustus did not avoid the title of *princeps senatus* as historians have so often assumed (cf. Mommsen, Staatsrecht II<sup>3</sup>, p. 895; III, p. 971; Dessau, Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit, pp. 61 f., 131 f.). The fragment given by Ramsay (p. 127, Fig. 12a) with N and VA and smooth space below, indicating the end of a chapter, probably goes here, as Von Premerstein (p. 106) suggests, rather than in chapter 21, *manibūs . . . privatis* (Ehrenberg, p. 191). It might go in 28, *Narbonensi . . . quae*. I was unable to find the fragment.

8. There are very few fragments which we can place with certainty in this chapter. The lines seem to have from 48 to 56 letters. The Konia fragment, GR—VO (Ramsay, p. 127, Fig. 12 ff.; letters 0.015 m. except O which is 0.01 m. high) is rightly placed here by Von Premerstein (p. 106) and Ehrenberg (p. 191). For l. 3 see plate VIIa, first row, second fragment and p. 52. For lines 1-3 see pl. VIIa, first row, fifth fragment and third row, sixth fragment and p. 53. For lines 8 and 9 see pl. VIIa, second row, last fragment and p. 53. Ramsay, followed by Shipley, reads in one of his fragments, where we have at the left the beginnings of five lines, *mplura* as part of *complura*, but every line preserved ends and begins with a full syllable. The Greek has *πολλά*, not *πλείστα*, and *complura* in chapters 20, 26, and 29 is so translated. Sandys (p. 263) and Von Premerstein (pp. 98-99) are right in following Bormann, Schmidt, Cagnat and Diehl in reading *multa* or *et multa*. The fragment which follows the Konia fragment (Ramsay, p. 115) has the same style of letters and spacing. It has also a smooth space and the chapter sign below MV and above the remains of the letters IPI, showing that it came at the end of a chapter and thus confirming its attribution to this place. It has been demonstrated above that the fragment (Ramsay, p. 114, 8) is wrongly located here by Ramsay. I have included the fragment MPLA here because there

<sup>23</sup> "Augustus und fast alle Nachfolger haben es anscheinend vermieden, sich titular als *princeps senatus* zu bezeichnen." E. G. Sihler, Studies in honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve, pp. 77-86, denies Mommsen's declaration that Augustus called himself princeps, in any sense except as *princeps senatus*. Cassius Dio's explanation of *princeps* as *πρόκριτος τῆς γερουσίας* (LIII, 1, LVII, 8) is not to be rejected. This is the meaning in Hor. Odes I, 2, 49.



is a smooth space beneath the letters such as would come at the end of a chapter. *Restitui*, adopted by Haug (Jahresbericht, LVI, 1888, p. 95) and Von Premierstein (p. 98) is not so good as *revocavi* read by Diehl, Shipley, Sandys, Ramsay, and Cagnat or as *reduxi* restored by Mommsen, Wirtz, Fairley, and Hardy. The fragment with E.DIDI and part of M above, found in Ramsay's previous dump where many other fragments also were discovered, has a smooth space 0.03 m. high, showing that it came at the end of a paragraph above the blank space at the end of a short line. As the fragment cannot be fitted into any of the spaces where DEDI is read, I feel that the I is not a mistake but part of the word *edidi*. The mark of punctuation after *e* is that which is used after a preposition in a compound. There is not room for such a restoration as *ipse dididi*. It is possible that the first fragment in the first row on pl. VIIa goes here and I have suggested a new restoration to fit this fragment also. The reversal of order in the position of the verbs *revocavi* and *edidi* seems strange but it occurs also in the genitives depending on the two uses of the word *exempla*. The only other possibility is to put *edidi* at the end of c. 18 but there the Greek is simply ἐδοκα and the fragment does not fit there easily. For the use of *edere exempla* cf. Caesar, B. G. 1, 31, 12; Livy XXIX, 9 and 27; Cicero, Q. Fr. I, 2, 2, 5.

9. The number of letters required confirms Von Premierstein's (p. 99) restoration of *salute* (suggested by Heinen, Klio, XI, 1911, p. 144 f.) rather than *valetudine*, but the letters IPI reject his restoration of *ut fierent* and favor Mommsen's *suscipi* (adopted by Fairley, Ramsay, and Shipley). Bormann, Diehl, Cagnat, and Sandys read *suscipere*, which would seem to correspond more closely to the Greek ἀναλαμβάνειν, but the translator did not always preserve the exact Latin construction. The I on the stone cannot be an E. The fragment (Ramsay, p. 127, fig. 12g) which Von Premierstein (pp. 97, 98) placed in chapter 1, though he also suggested 24 or 25 or 27, cannot go there, since another fragment has been definitely located in that chapter. So probably Ehrenberg (p. 192) is right in putting that fragment here, *decrevit ex iis . . . sacerdotum . . . privatim*. But the traces in Ramsay's copy fit XI and the number of letters

needed from the beginning of the line, which is now preserved, is 28 to 30. To the *vit* of *decrevit* there are only 24 letters. So I prefer *ex iis*. Unfortunately I could not find the stone to verify the reading. A new fragment fits the VOTA of Ramsay's fragment, and three other fragments, including one in Konia, give the beginning of lines at the end of chapter 9 and the beginning of chapter 10. The fragment (Ramsay, p. 114, 9) had lost the TI recorded by Ramsay but after a careful search I located a small fragment with TI which joins it. The letters in all these fragments are 0.015 m. high. Ramsay's arrangement of the lines (p. 115) must be changed to make *conlegia* (not *collegia* as at Ancyra)<sup>24</sup> begin a new line. Ramsay's fragment should be placed near the beginning of the last two lines of chapter 9. In fact TIM would begin a new line. The fragment in Konia has perhaps traces of O with an accent and the last line of M, so that it fits *nómen*. It cannot belong to *in-clúsum* as Ramsay (p. 122) suggested.

Since the beginning of so many lines is preserved, it is possible to say that in chapter 9 the first five had 50 letters and the others about that number. This is a great help in enabling us to decide between restorations. So *salute* is to be preferred to *valetudine* and *aliquotiens* to *interdum* read by Wölfflin, Haug, Cagnat, and Sandys. I like *sacrificaverunt* rather than *sacrificia concorditer . . . fecerunt* which Cagnat and Ramsay adopt. The Greek is *ἑθυσαν* and *sacrificium facere* is twice rendered by *θυσίαν ποιεῖν* in chapters 11 and 12. Mommsen, Fairley, and Hoeing all read *sacrificaverunt* after *cives* but it should be at the end of the sentence where Wirtz, Diehl, Sandys and Shipley put it. Wirtz (1912) gets credit in Shipley, Sandys, etc. for *continenter*, but Hoeing four years earlier, in *Classical Philology* (III, 1908, p. 88), proposed *continenter* for Mommsen's *semper*. For *uno animo* Professor Boak suggests *unanimiter*. The Greek is *ὁμοθυμαδόν*.

10. Luckily the beginning of this chapter is preserved with

<sup>24</sup> Here again the difference between the *Mon. Ant.* and *Mon. Ano.* as in *cos.* or *consulibus* is an argument against the conclusions of Kornemann (pp. 24 f.) based on the idea that "Die älteren Teile des Dokuments haben offenbar *conlega*, aber *collegium* geschrieben, also gerade umgekehrt wie c. 22."

the N of *Nomen* projecting to the left beyond the line of the column. I have been able to add another fragment below so that we have the beginning of three more lines. There were about 50 to 54 letters in a line, as many as 57 perhaps in the first line, the letters being 0.015 m. high. This and the fragment with part of *inclusum* over *quoad* show that *senatus consulto* was not abbreviated, as Ramsay thinks probable (p. 122). Furthermore the fragment on pl. VII, l. 2, third from the left with S.CO over M.PE seems to belong here. This also makes it difficult to include Ramsay's fragment (pp. 114-115). There are many objections, such as the unique phrase *per legem sanctum* (cf. however chapter 34 *per eius clupei inscriptionem*) and the fact that no mark of punctuation is preserved before S or after VO. As Ramsay himself (p. 122) says, the differences of eight or even twelve letters which would be necessary in the lines to accommodate this fragment seem suspiciously great. But I can find no other place for the fragment, which seems to fit one of the new fragments with NCT of *sanctum*. I have tried to reduce the difficulties by a new arrangement of the line, but even so it is necessary to infer that *meus* was omitted after *pater* to make the fragment fit. There are four letters too many between the preserved *quod* at the beginning of the line and *habuerat*. The Greek requires the relative *quod* before *sacerdotium*, and *suscepi* rather than Von Premerstein's *recepi* would seem to be the equivalent of ἀνέιληφα (cf. *suscepi* for ἀναλαμβάνειν above). But in chapter 27 *reciperavi* is rendered by ἀνέλαβον. The letter after *mortuo* is either D or R, certainly not S. So, if we do not read *cepi id* (which fills too much space) for *quod*, we are forced to read *recepi* after *mortuo*. *Suscepi*, then, cannot be restored after *mortuo*, as by Cagnat and Diehl, following Bormann. Nor would I put *suscepi* before *P. Sulpicio*, as Wirtz and Sandys do. Cf. Suetonius, Aug. 31, *mortuo demum suscepit*. A fragment in Konia (omitted by Ramsay) with MO and a smooth space below, which indicates the end of a column, fits the fragment with VO and gives the first two letters of *mortuo*. I have rejected Ehrenberg's proposal p. 191 to put Ramsay's fragment (p. 127, Fig. 12 h) here. For the fragment with *confluente* see pl. VIIa, second row, fourth fragment, and p. 52. The fragment with its original top edge and LTIT over FECE must go in the first two lines of column IV. The

letters LTIT are part of *multitudine* and for FECE I should suggest *mentionem fecerunt* (ἰστορήσαν). In that case M at the end of *quantam* was omitted in the *Mon. Anc.* Many suggestions have been made for this passage. Mommsen proposed *fertur*; Haug (p. 96) *tradita erat*; Seeck, Schmidt, and Cagnat *memoriae proditur*; Diehl, Sandys, Shipley, and Von Premerstein (p. 103) read *narratur*. Von Premerstein would read after *narratur coeunte* or, as he brilliantly suggests, *fertur, collecta*. The letter before ECE is, however, probably F not L, and the letter after C is certainly E not T. Even if E were a mistake for T, the spacing would exclude *collecta*, as then five letters would occupy in line 1 the space of three in line 2. Unfortunately the fragment at the end of the first line of this column has been lost and I must reproduce my drawing, which shows, however, the original edge at the top. Since the original top edge here corresponded with the top of a column, column III had 34 lines according to our arrangement. Traces of *Valgio* are clear on the stone which gives the first letters of the first four lines of chapter 11.

11. The first three lines had 53, 54, and 54 letters, respectively. The A of *aram* projects to the left beyond the other lines and there is a smooth space 0.035 m. wide beneath. For the usual restoration *juxta* a new fragment gives a]nte ae[dés. One might put the fragment with STA in the second line below and fit it into *Lucretio . . . Augustalia . . . consulto*, and I cite this to show the difficulty in placing the fragments. Enough of the D in *reditu* is preserved, however, to make *Lucretio* impossible. The fragment with NIC fits here into *Vinicio* rather than into *Asinio* in chapter 8. While the C might be part of an O there would be only 33 letters to *norum* of *Romanorum* but 44 from there to *tri* of *triginta*. Furthermore the letter after TRI seems from the traces to have been B. But to bring *tribunorum* into the proper spacing it is necessary to assume that *senatus consulto* was abbreviated as S. C. This fragment then, instead of the restored *Vinucio*, gives the spelling *Vinicio* used by Velleius, who dedicated his Roman history to M. Vinicius, consul, and in inscriptions (cf. De Rohden-Dessau, *Prosopographia III*, p. 435, no. 444; C. I. L. XV, 4590 where the same two consuls are mentioned). Augustus preferred *i* to *u* and even wrote *simus* for *sumus* (Suet. Aug. 87).

12-13. Only five fragments have been identified with chapter 12 but two joins can be made. The large fragment has the original right edge and shows what we have maintained above, that the lines were uneven at the right and of varying lengths. In one case six of eight letters ICTORIIS occupy the space of T.CVM with two letters running beyond. A space of 0.04 m. is left smooth after AL, ET and CVM. From these fragments we can work out the exact arrangement of the lines, as we have the end of seven lines and the smooth portion at the end of chapter 12. The lines varied in length as there must have been about 49 letters between *viris* and *nemini*, 59 between *nemini* and *provincis*, 58 between *provincis* and *aram*, 59 between *aram* and *campum*, 57 between *campum* and *anniversarium*. The line ending with *victoriis* had 59 letters. The result is that, with the ends of so many lines given and this calculation, it is possible to say, as we did above, that *senatus consulto* must have been abbreviated as *S. C.* and that the first two lines had probably 57 and 56 letters, respectively. In l. 5 of c. 12 Mommsen restored § before *aram*, where none exists in the *Mon. Ant.*

The text here differs in three other respects from the conjectures of previous editors. *Iis* for *his* occurs and *et* has been omitted by restprers between *Nerone* and *P. Quintilio* and *consacranda* is the correct reading for *consacrari*. The use of the gerundive (also c. 13) shows how Augustus construed *censuit*, that the senate's vote must be carried out. It is to be noted here again that there is no punctuation after the simple preposition but only after prepositions in compounds. So here in *iis* there is no mark between *in* and *iis*. Many restorations are shown to be correct, including the first *cum* for which Haug (p. 96) wanted to read *ubi* or *quando*. The fragment given on pl. VII, l. 3, fifth from left, goes in lines 2 to 4 of c. 13. The restoration of *condita* is confirmed. The M above A.CO fits *Romani* and the PR below fits *principe*.

14. I have been able to locate with probability only two fragments in this chapter. There are three fragments which perhaps belong to the first seven lines of chapter 15, the fragment with *frumento privatim* and *duodecimum*, and the fragments on pl. VIIa, third row, fourth fragment, and last row, seventh fragment, cf. pp. 53, 54.



15. From this chapter two fragments with an original left edge and a smooth space 0.025 m. wide to the left of the letters give us the beginning of eight lines, so that with the help of the many fragments, which join, it is possible to make an arrangement of the lines which is very different from that of Ramsay (pp. 115, 116). Ehrenberg (p. 192) has already criticized Ramsay's division of the lines and his own brilliant arrangement of the last three lines is now confirmed. Von Premerstein (p. 104, note 1) pointed out that the fragment which Ramsay (p. 116) correctly puts in *frumentum* and *quam* cannot possibly be right in his arrangement, which pays no attention to the free smooth space below *quam* (cf. pl. III). Von Premerstein was wrong, however, in suggesting that the fragment be put in chapter 34 and that we read there *tantum auctoritate . . . quam ii qui fuerunt . . . consulatum*. The *quam* goes at the end of the line as *ducenta* begins a new line and the NSV below is part not of *consulatu* but *consulibus* and joins our new fragment. The large fragment which Ramsay put at the end of the lines comes near the beginning and joins the new fragment there. The fragment with *dedi* comes not at the end of a line but to the left of the middle and joins the new fragments. Von Premerstein's assignment (p. 106) of the fragment NT.ID which Ramsay (pp. 112, 114, 119, 124 f.) wrongly put in chapter 26, assuming an unparalleled abbreviation *ant.* for *ante*, is now confirmed. The fragment joins the new fragments, with the letters *acceperu*. Ramsay also wrongly read VIT in *navigavit* for TVM in *quintum*.

A fragment found on May 18, 1924 seems to have been lost or stolen, and so is not included in the photographs. My copy

PHA  
gives INT These letters are evidently part of *triumphale*,  
PLE.

*viginti*, and *plebei*. It is somewhat remarkable that the line beginning with *num* had only 42 letters but that the following line had 66 letters. The two fragments which I have joined together show that the first ten letters of *tribuniciae* occupy the space of only 7 letters above, *num. mill.* So I see no need of supposing that *duodevicesimum* was rendered by XVIII or that *consul* was abbreviated. At Ancyra the same lines had respectively 48 and 56 letters, a difference of only 8 letters as



compared with 14 here. In the line beginning *-lonis* there were 47 letters but in the lines preceding and succeeding 53 letters. Such differences, as mentioned before, make it difficult to arrange the lines where few fragments are preserved. Above the three fragments with *num. mill.* and *ducenta* the original top of the stone is preserved, and this corresponds with the top of column V.

The main correction to the text as already restored is *et colonis militum*, not *in colonis*, which all editors, misled by Mommsen's commentary, which is now proved to be false, have adopted. Most of them did not even bracket the N. The E is clear on the walls of the *pronaos* of the Augusteum at Ancyra (Angora) and can be seen on Mommsen's facsimile. The slight traces after E seemed to me to be those of T. It is difficult to understand how Perrot and Domaszewski read IN where no N appears on Mommsen's facsimile. The Greek, καὶ ἀποίκους surely calls for *et*. Bergk (quoted by Mommsen, p. 59) and Wölfflin (Sitzungsberichte der Akad. zu München, 1886, p. 270) proposed to read *et* but have been forgotten. Polysyndeton is characteristic of the *Res Gestae*. *Colonis* is not, as editors have assumed, for *coloniis*. It is rather the dative of *colonus*, and the Greek translator did not, as Mommsen and others have suggested, misunderstand the Latin and change the word *in*. In the *Mon. Anc.* there is no § at the end as here.

16. A fragment previously found by Ramsay (p. 116) gives the beginning of the first four lines and the other fragments (four of them found by Ramsay and now at Konia) fix the arrangement of lines throughout this chapter. One of Ramsay's unplaced fragments (p. 127, Fig. 12 e) goes here in *solvi . . . militum*, as Von Premerstein (p. 106) and Ehrenberg (p. 191) suggested.

An important difference in the text of the new fragments is *memoria aetātis*. The *Mon. Anc.* has *ad memoriam aetatis*. Either M was omitted at Antioch, as it was at Ancyra in *ad aedem* (chapter 21), or *in memoria* was engraved. At Ancyra after Laelio the text is *cos.* whereas here we have *consulibus* (cf. above, p. 27, note). The most important difference is *circiter* in the last line. Here again all editors have wrongly read *li]b[ente]r*. The Greek is ἐγγύς, elsewhere rendered by

*circiter*, and my examination of the stone at Ancyra, of the facsimile and of squeezes showed traces which cannot fit B but only R. We must then read also in the *Mon. Anc. ci[r[cite]r*.

17. One fragment (Ramsay, p. 116), to which our new one joins, runs through the last two lines of chapter 16 and all lines of 17 but the last. In l. 2 *eós* has an accent, omitted at Ancyra. *Consulibus* is written in full for *cos.* at Ancyra, and *quingenties* not *quingentiens*, is the spelling here. The fragment (Ramsay, p. 127, Fig. 12 d) is rightly placed in *Qui vicena . . . septingenties* by Von Premerstein (p. 106) and Ehrenberg (p. 191), but it is lost. The arrangement is fixed by the fragment with S.ET and DO.ET, because after these letters is a smooth space, 0.03 m. wide, showing that these were the ends of two lines, of 53 and 54 letters, respectively. The first line had the same number of letters as at Ancyra but the second had two more, and included *et*. The fragment (0.065 m. wide and 0.05 m. high) with NT.SESE has a smooth space below, 0.025 m. high with a paragraph mark. So this must come in the next to the last line and shows that here *sestertium* was written out and not abbreviated as at Ancyra (Ramsay's *iis* is a misprint).

18. No fragments of chapters 18 or 19 were previously found. The new ones enable us to make an approximate arrangement of the lines. The smooth space 0.02 m. high above *deficerent* shows that this word was in the first line of the paragraph, which probably had 55 letters. *Vecti]g[alia*, read by all the editors, is incorrect. Even Mommsen thought that C was the only surviving letter and on the stone, squeeze, and even facsimile C is still clear, though Sandys (p. 267) says it is almost impossible to find. On the stone at Ancyra and squeeze I was also able to see BLIC and traces after those letters of AEO. So we should read *pu]blica<sup>ae</sup> opes*, which exactly corresponds to the Greek, *αἱ δημόσιαι πρόσοδοι*. This is confirmed by the third fragment in the third row on pl. VIIa (cf. p. 53). Bergk had suggested *opes publicae* but the Greek order is to be followed. The reading *multo* proposed by Schmidt (1887) for Mommsen's *i[nl]ato* (adopted by Wölfflin, Fairley, and Hardy) is read by Cagnat, Diehl, Sandys, and Shipley and is now confirmed. Mommsen misinterpreted the uncertain traces of letters at Ancyra as I...ATO but they fit equally well MVLTO. Hoening (Classical

Philology, III, 1908, p. 89) need have had no hesitation in reading *multo*. He was entirely correct in trying to find the very words of Augustus by translating the Greek as literally as possible. Mommsen's restoration of *agro*, suggested by Bormann, is confirmed by the traces of a letter before O. The word cannot be *aerario* as proposed by Gottanka (not Gottakda as in Shipley, p. 342). Nor can it be *aere* as proposed by Schmidt (adopted by Diehl, Cagnat, Sandys and Shipley). Fairley, Hoeing and Hardy have the correct restoration. Rostovtzeff (in excursus, p. 318 of the Russian edition of *Römische Bleitesserae*) proposes *gratuito* for *multo* and would read *gratui]to fru[mentum et aes per n]umma[ria]s t[esseras ex agris*, referring to Suetonius, Aug. 41. But Suetonius is speaking of the city populace, whereas Augustus here is surely referring to his treatment of provincials. Others (Schmidt, Diehl, Cagnat, Sandys, and Shipley) read *fru[mentarias et n]umma[riá]s t[esseras ex aere]*. But at Ancyra after the T, I could make out the traces of R, surely not E. Hoeing was probably right in reading *mul]to, fru[mentarios et n]umma[rio]s t[ributus ex agro] et pat[rimonio] m[e]o*, even though Mommsen's *tributus* is an archaic masculine. This is better than Mommsen's *fru[mento vel ad n]umma[rio]s* (adopted by Fairley and Hardy). It is also better than Wölfflin's (1886) *atque n]umma[rii]s t[esseris divis] ex pat[rimonio]* or Seeck's *t[itulos]*.

19. Plate IV makes clear the joins that have been made. There seems to be no difference in the wording of the text from that of the *Mon. Anc.* Of course the arrangement of lines varies. In line 7 there is no punctuation mark after *in* or after *sacra*, showing that *sacra via* was conceived as one phrase or title. After *Minervae, Reginae, via*, and *Juventatis*, there is no section mark, as at Ancyra. On the other hand *Junónis* has the accent on the *o* and not on the *u*.

20. There are many fragments which can be joined and placed in chapters 20, 21, and 22, so that we can be fairly sure of the arrangement of lines, especially as we have in a fragment, with part of the original right edge, the ends of lines, in *coep-, con-, filio]rum*, and *here]dibus*. In another fragment we have the ends of two other lines, *ex* of *sextum* and *temp]ore*. One fragment with an original left edge, to which a fragment with

e]t basi[licam joins, gives us the beginning of lines 2-5, but it is necessary to change the order in the *Mon. Anc.* and read *quae appellatur Marcia*, not *Marcia appellatur*. We have a sure case of different order in the preface where *Romae* is placed after *positae*, and such an order of words is justified by the Greek and by Frontinus, *De Aqueductu Urbis Romae* 12, *quae appellatur Augusta*. There can be no doubt that the fragment with **For[um]** goes here, as a fragment with **aede]m Sat[urni]** fits below and the letters cross the two fragments. With this change made, everything else harmonizes. At first it might seem that Ramsay's fragment (pp. 114, 117) was against our attribution, but he wrongly reads **RIvum** in the fourth line, which, if correct, would throw out his fragment. The traces can equally well fit **MIS** of *inmisso*. In that case the fragment with **q]uae ap[ellatur]** after *aquam* and a paragraph or section mark before *For[um]* fits perfectly. In line 9 at the beginning before *iussi* the space requires *meis*. Mommsen errs in rejecting *meis* and in saying that there is room for only 7 letters after *heredibus*. The space was engraved and in the same space above as many as 11 letters occur (*a profligata*). So I believe that the *Mon. Anc.* also read *meis*. In the sixth line, note the punctuation mark after the preposition in the compound *pro-fligata* as in line 10 after *praeter* in *praeter-misso*. In the eighth line the spelling is *inchoavi* for *incohavi* at Ancyra. In line 10 the reading is certainly **auct]oritate**. There is no doubt about **TATE** as I joined the two stones with these letters, but I am not certain about the fragment with **ORI** as I failed actually to join the fragment. I can, however, fit the fragment nowhere else, and the **EBA** may belong to *debebat*. Mommsen's restoration which had been adopted by all scholars, *decreto*, must be rejected. They have been misled by a wrong restoration in the Greek in **δόγμα]τι**. We should restore **ἀξιώμα]τι** as in chapter 34, where we shall see that the Latin for **ἀξιώμα[a]τι** is *auctoritate*. **δόγματι συνκλήτου** would be *senatus consulto*, as in Wirtz's restoration in chapter 22, which is adopted by Diehl, Sandys, and Shipley, though not by Cagnat and Hardy. On **δόγματι συνκλήτου** cf. Meuwese, *De rerum gestarum divi Augusti versione Graeca* (1920), pp. 66 f. There is room on the stone at Ancyra for *auctoritate*, and *decreto* is too short. Furthermore, I could see clear traces of **TE**. Even on the facsimile these two letters can

be seen faintly on the preserved right edge. Bergk, quoted by Mommsen (p. 86), rightly suggested *auctoritate* but wrongly proposed γνῶμη. *Auctoritate*, far from being incongruous with *sermonis Augusti proprietate*, is very characteristic, as Von Premerstein and Ehrenberg and Heinze have recently shown (cf. p. 50). In the last line our text gives *pontes*]que for the usual restoration [*et pontes*] in the *Mon. Anc.* There was no *in ea* after *pontes* as Sandys would restore, following Wölfflin and Cagnat. Hoeing (Cl. Phil. III, 1908, p. 89) also wrongly reads *et in ea* before *pontes* and after *Minucium* he has *munivi*, a word not elsewhere used of *pontes*. The original surface is preserved after *Minucium* at Angora and it was never inscribed. The interpretation is clear, if after *Ariminum* we repeat *refeci* from the previous sentence. The spacing and number of letters required and appendix 3 confirm this. For the fragment which gives the *Min* of *Minucium* over *que* cf. pl. VIIa, last in the first row and p. 52.

21. We seem to have the beginning of this paragraph in a fragment with an original left edge and the letters IN, 0.04 m. from the edge. The M in the second line is 0.06 m. from the edge. Ramsay's fragment (p. 127, Fig. 12 a) might possibly go in lines 2 and 3, *manibiis* and *privatis*, as Ehrenberg (p. 191) suggests. But then the first four letters of *privatis* would occupy the space of the first two of *manibiis*, if the drawing is correct. That is possible, but the fragment belongs better in chapter 7, *quindecimvirum—arvalis*. In line 2 the reading is clearly *ad aedem*. The *aede* in the *Mon. Anc.* is a stone-cutter's error and not a case of *ad* with the ablative, as is stated in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher*, Suppl. XXV, 1899, p. 56. Sandys is the only editor who rightly reads *aede(m)*. All others have *aede*. In l. 3 *feci* has no accent as at Ancyra. So *refeci* in c. 20, l. 10. In line 6 *sestertium* is written out and not abbreviated as in the *Mon. Anc.*

The large fragment (0.33 m. high, 0.25 m. wide, 0.25 m. thick) which Ramsay (pp. 114, 117) found with the ends of thirteen lines and the bottom of a *pagina*, on which more letters can be seen than in the drawing, is extremely important now that we have found so many other fragments which can be joined in chapters 20-22. Several have the original top edge and some



a smooth space below, which comes at the end of a column. Here we can establish the exact length of the *pagina* as 37 lines from the beginning of chapter 19 to line 7 inclusive of chapter 22. It begins where column IV of the *Mon. Anc.* does. The first 37 lines of the fourth column of the *Mon. Anc.* are included and it contains only the words *consul XIII ludos* more than the first 37 lines of the *Mon. Anc.*, an interesting coincidence. The whole column is shorter, however, by 17 lines, since column IV at Ancyra contained 54 lines, as far as the end of chapter 24. Ehrenberg made the suggestion (p. 196) that the second part of the *Mon. Ant.* began with column V and that this corresponded to the beginning of column IV in the *Mon. Anc.*, where the second division starts. But column VI, not V, begins the second part at the same line with column IV of the *Mon. Anc.* Ehrenberg thought naturally that the *Mon. Ant.* had eight columns, but our fragments prove conclusively, as we have said, that it had nine. In line 4 of chapter 21 the man who drew Ramsay's fragment (pp. 114, 117) has omitted in line 1 AED, but in general for one who knew no Latin he did very well. Ramsay (p. 117) wrongly reads QVOTIENS.CVMQVE for QVOTIES.CVMQVE (so above in c. 17 *quingenties* for *quingentiens*). The *Mon. Anc.* has the N. The fragment with an original top edge ART (now lost) which Ramsay (p. 114) puts in chapter 21 cannot be part of *Martis*, as that occurs in our new fragments. At the end is a paragraph mark omitted at Ancyra.

22. Here again we have the beginning in a fragment which has its original left edge. From the edge to the letters TER is 0.04 m.; to R is 0.06 m. A new fragment joins between two of those found by Ramsay (p. 114, third row, from the left the second and the third, which should come first and in which in line 5 L should be read for I in CIAR). Another fragment joins one of these at the right. In line 3 of this chapter the large fragment reads at the end *spec[taculu (sic)*. There is a lacuna here in the *Mon. Anc.* and perhaps we should read *spec[ta]c[ulum]* there, but it is not necessary as *spectaculum* occurs in chapter 23. Ramsay would read the final *m* at the beginning of the next line. But words are always divided by syllables in the *Mon. Ant.*, and now the finding of the fragment with P shows that *populo*



began the line. The final M was probably omitted for lack of space. In l. 5 there was no § after *quater* as at Ancyra.

In line 8 Ramsay's fragment (pp. 114, 117) with its original top and left edge gives us the beginning of a new *pagina*, though not of a paragraph, since the M of *Martiales* does not project beyond the left line of the letters. In line 9 (the second of this *pagina*) I have adopted Wirtz's restoration (p. 410) of *s. c. mecum fecerunt co]n[su]les*, adding *ex*, owing to the number of letters needed, namely nine. The abbreviation *s. c.* should be read with *ex* and not, as Sandys restores, *senatus consulto*. The restoration *fecerunt* is confirmed by Ramsay's fragment (pp. 114, 117), where C is omitted before ERVNT. In the last line of 22 Ramsay's fragment (p. 114, third row, third from right, p. 117) reads in the first line R-TR, not CIR. The fragment with CIRCIT which Ramsay (p. 114, fourth row, third from right) puts in chapters 25, 26 goes here and actually joins this fragment to the left, giving us *circiter tria*, and in chapter 23 *spectac]lum* or *spectacu]lum populo*, and *ca]vato [s]olo*. The VAE in Ramsay should be VATO, and R occurs above the second C of *circiter*.

23. The fragment with *pedes* has a bit of the original right edge and a smooth space above NC, so that its position is fixed at the end of the first two lines of the paragraph. The restoration *solo* based on Suetonius, Aug. 43, *cavato solo*, is confirmed. The arrangement of the lines is very uncertain. The second seems to have 63 letters. To reduce the length of the third line to even 64 letters it would be necessary to abbreviate *lat(itudinem)*, and perhaps *longitud(inem)* was shortened in the second line, giving only 59 letters there. As the first line has only 58 letters and as the necessary spacing between parts of preserved words makes some such change compulsory, I have adopted this solution, especially as a fragment with an origi-

N

nal left edge gives INL. The letters, 0.046 m. from the edge,

PL

are clear on copy and squeeze but not on the photograph. There is no punctuation mark between N and L but, as we have seen, after the simple preposition such does not occur. For the fragment with . . . *autem* . . . *pugnauerunt* . . . *omnium* cf. pl. VIIa, first in second row and p. 52.

24. Here, besides three fragments of Ramsay (the one with MEO PO lost), seem to go two new fragments which I have joined together. It is necessary, however, to assume an omission of the letter R in *circiter*. So in the *Mon. Anc.* M was omitted in *aedem* (21) and N in *provincias* (26). Of the fragment of four lines, which was stolen from Ramsay's tent in 1914 (Ramsay, p. 124), no drawing is given from the copy of a copy which was made for Professor Dessau. Ramsay thought that it read *quad]rigis* for *quadrigeis* in the *Mon. Anc.* I was able to locate this fragment in a dealer's shop in Constantinople but only the last two of the four lines seen by Ramsay remain with the words *que ea pecunia* and *mihi statuarum*. The upper part was re-found in Yalivadj and reads RIGEI. Ramsay mistook an accidental curving line, very close to the E, for S and read RIGIS. The reading evidently was the same as in the *Mon. Anc.* Ramsay's copy erred in assuming that "the block ends at an interval of nearly two lines below STATV." The block does not end (cf. pl. V) and there was only one line left smooth which would come after *posui* at the end of the paragraph. The height of the smooth portion is 0.024 m., and even 0.045 m. might be smooth from the bottom of one line to the top of the second line below, 0.015 m. being the usual height of the lines and the space between them. In fact there is trace of a letter from the first line of chapter 25, probably part of A with a punctuation mark before *dominis*. To Ramsay's fragment (pp. 114, 118) another new one joins, completing *aurea* and *honorem*.

25. I have been able to place only three fragments (one with smooth space and paragraph mark) in this chapter besides the two already placed here by Ramsay, and one which gives parts of the end of chapter 24 and the letters ON of *praedonibus*. There is a fragment of four lines which might belong here if we twist the lines and assume a mistake of *aedem* for *eadem* (cf. pl. VIIa, first row, fragment 3). It would then have parts of *contra*, *ad supplicium*, and *sponte sua*. *Aedem* occurs so often in the *Mon. Ant.* that it could easily be carved for *eadem*.

26. Neither of the two fragments which Ramsay places here really belongs in this section. That with *quae* cannot go here because the letters *ae* of *quae* occur on our new fragment.

Ramsay misread VAT for VAE. The fragment belongs in chapters 22, 23 (cf. p. 45). The fragment with NT.ID (which would give an unparalleled abbreviation for *ante* as well as an unusual stop between *ant.* and *id*) actually belongs to *acceperunt* in chapter 15. On one of the new fragments the N is preserved in *provincias*, showing that the certain omission in the *Mon. Anc.* (not given by Cagnat and Hardy) is a stone-cutter's error. For the fragment with *regione . . . pacificavi nulli* cf. pl. VIIa, fifth in second row and p. 53. The smooth space which existed between chapters 25 and 26 is seen on two fragments. On the one, to the right can be read part of X of LXXXIII of the next to last line of 25. Below *acie et* and *oppida* is seen the smooth space which was at the bottom of a column, not of a chapter. This column had 39 lines and corresponded to 37 lines of the *Mon. Anc.* The next column begins with *In Aethiopiam*. Three new fragments, in addition to Ramsay's at the left (pp. 114, 119), give the original top edge of the next column. The fragment with PIAM in Ramsay's facsimile (p. 114) should have above a heavy straight line to indicate the top edge of the stone. The fragment which made Ramsay (pp. 114, 119) assume an abbreviation *exercs* for *exercitus* I could not find in Yalivadj or Konia. Our new fragment with *exercitu[s]* shows that, as Von Premerstein (p. 95) and Ehrenberg (p. 190) surmised, such an abbreviation is impossible. The letter before S in Ramsay's fragment was part of V and this came under the X of *proxima*.

27. Ramsay's two fragments (pp. 114, 119) did not fix the arrangement of the lines of the entire paragraph, as he believed. The large new fragment, which was found on the Tiberia Platea 3 metres in front of the middle of the staircase with the final letters of *reciperavi* over SIC of *Sicilia* in line 1 of chapter 28, necessitates an entirely different order. The letters in line 3 which Ramsay reads as AI.R of *maiorum* are M.NO of *maiorum nostrorum*. Of the other of Ramsay's fragments only the last two of the five lines remain, but I have been able to join to it a small fragment which completes the word *magna*. No stone with such a long right-hand splintered portion but with an original right edge, such as Ramsay gives in his article, could be found. Our new fragment shows definitely that Ramsay

must have been wrong in assuming such an original right edge as is marked in his facsimile (p. 114, reproduced on our pl. V) and in his text (pp. 113, 119). We have another stone which must go here (cf. pl. V). The letters on Ramsay's fragment must come near the end of lines and not in the middle. Here is another example of punctuation after a preposition in a compound, *inter.fecto*.

28. The beginning of the first four lines of this chapter with the projecting C of *Colonias* was found. Ramsay placed none of his fragments here but Von Premenstein (pp. 106, 107) rightly identified with chapter 28 the fragment which Ramsay (p. 127, Fig. 12 A<sup>4</sup>) had attributed to appendix 4. The fragment is lost and I could not verify the drawing. For the usual restoration *me[is auspiciis]*, in view of the significant discovery of the use of the word *auctoritas* by Augustus in the *Res Gestae* (cf. p. 50), I prefer Wölfflin's (p. 267) neglected suggestion of *me[a auctoritate]*. The traces on the stone at Ancyra, as I examined it, seemed to agree and we surely need at least 12 letters to fill the space, whereas *me[is auspiciis]* is too short.

29. There is only one small new fragment with the letters IOS of *alios* and a smooth space above, 0.04 m. high, showing that these letters come in line 1 of some paragraph. They can not belong to *filios* in chapter 15, because the traces of letters above do not fit in chapter 14. Ramsay found two fragments (pp. 114, 120), one of which gives the right edge. Of the other only the second line with the letters O.MA is left. Plate V shows Ramsay's drawing beside the fragment as it exists to-day.

30. Only Ramsay's one small fragment and two small new ones have been identified with this paragraph, but they furnish an approximate arrangement of the whole.

31. We seem to have the projecting first word, AD. The fragment, which extends into chapter 32, is that published by Ramsay (pp. 114, 120). He fails to show the M preserved before QVI. One new fragment seems to belong here, as the four letters E.VLT cannot possibly be placed elsewhere satisfactorily. But it is necessary to read *adque* for the usual restoration of *et*. For the fragment with *reges . . . reges* cf. pl. VIIa, second in fifth row and p. 54.

32. A very interesting thing here is the fact that a new column begins not with the first line, but with the second line. Ehrenberg (p. 193) pointed out the fact, which Ramsay had not observed, that his fragment (p. 114, last line, second from right), where FILI should be read for EILD, probably had an original upper edge. This is now confirmed by two or three new fragments, all of which belong here and have their original upper edge. Unfortunately one of them was not photographed at once, before it was stolen. But I had made a drawing which shows the upper edge. Among the fragments purchased from natives I later with some difficulty recognized four which belong to the one shown in my drawing, which gives in the third line SVE, though now only SV is preserved (cf. the second from the left at the top of plate VI). There can, then, be no doubt that a new column began with *regis Phratis*. Since there seems to be no reason why this column should not have begun with the first line of the chapter, which must have looked awkward at the bottom of the last column with a space above and below it, and since the sixth column of the *Mon. Anc.* begins also with *regis* there may seem to be some influence of the *Mon. Anc.* I still believe, however, that the *Mon. Ant.* was not copied from the *Mon. Anc.* (cf. above, p. 22). Ehrenberg rightly places at the end of the first line of this new column the letters ART which Ramsay had wrongly put in appendix 2, assuming that a new column began there. Though I have not been able to find this little fragment which Ramsay's facsimile (p. 114) places in chapter 21, the new fragments prove that a new column did not begin with appendix 2. In line 3 (line 2 of the ninth column) Sandys (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1918 (2), pp. 97-110) rightly restored from coins, which were found mainly near Sussex, the name of the British king as *Tincommius*. The usual reading *et Tim.* (followed even by the latest editions of Diehl, Cagnat, and Shipley without any mention of Sandys's restoration) is due solely to Chishull's copy of Tournefort's copy of the *Mon. Anc.*, made as long ago as 1728. To get the proper adjustment of words and letters in the new fragments, it is necessary to read in line 7 *expertae sunt fidem populi* and not *populi romani fidem*, as in the *Mon. Anc.* (for difference in order cf. pp. 21, 42). Sandys wrongly restores an abbreviation *p.R.*



33. The new fragment, especially with the short line ending in *nepotem* enables us to arrange this chapter with a fair degree of accuracy.

34. Several new fragments belong here and some of them I have been able to join together. The fragment with O. SE over ME on pl. VIIa, first in fourth row, would also certainly fit here in lines 4 and 5. Several previous restorations are confirmed, but in four cases the reading is different. *Augustus* was written in full and not abbreviated to *Aug.* as in Mommsen's restoration. There is an *et* between *iustitiae* and *pietatis*, and after *quam* occurs the word *ceteri* which has never before been suggested. But the most important difference and one far-reaching in significance for the study of Augustus' position and policies is the word *auctoritate* for *dignitate* (cf. Ehrenberg, pp. 200-213; Heinze, *Hermes*, LX, 1925, pp. 348-366). Ramsay (p. 127, Fig. 12 b) had failed to read the fragment correctly, mistaking an S for a P, and had proposed the impossible abbreviation PA for *patris* in *pa(tris) testamento*. For the theory based on this cf. above, p. 26. Von Premerstein (pp. 98, 104-106) with his keen epigraphic sense read *caussá. testatum* and placed the fragments in chapter 34, reading *auctóritate*. The photograph of the fragment now in the Konia museum and of the new fragment, which joins this, confirms the reading and attribution beyond the shadow of a doubt. To secure the necessary arrangement of lines and words to agree with the new fragments we must, however, read the words in the order which Ehrenberg (p. 191) suggested, *tempus auctoritate praestiti omnibus*, not *omnibus auctoritate praestiti* as in Von Premerstein's article. As a result of the new fragments I have adopted a slightly different order of the lines from Von Premerstein (p. 98) and Ehrenberg (p. 191). Ehrenberg bases his arrangement on a new reading MA in *magistratu* for Ramsay's HI in *mihi*. The letters come above STER in *equester*. Here Ramsay is right. The letters are HI and I also read on the stone the following letters, QVO of

EMM

*quoque*. There is some doubt about the fragment with IV  
INS,  
 placed on pl. VI after the fragment with *positus*.

35. One of the new fragments joins to the left that found



by Ramsay (pp. 121, 127, Fig. 12, 35) and shows that *inscribendum* must be read without *esse* following. Another fragment fits between two Konia fragments, as can be seen on pl. VI. Ramsay was entirely right about the fragment which runs into appendix 1. Unfortunately his facsimile (p. 127, Fig. 12) gave RLVN for RIVM, and this misled Ehrenberg (p. 194) to read RAM and restore the word *dictatu*]ram in chapter 5. This was probably to bolster up his hypothesis (p. 194) that no other copy of the *Res Gestae* contained the appendices. But we now have fragments from all four appendices which cannot be placed elsewhere. This fact brings evidence against Mommsen's idea (p. 156) that the officials of Ancyra added the appendices.

Appendices 1-4. The fragment with *sexiens* from appendix 1, and the fragment of 3 lines from appendix 2 help us make an approximate arrangement of lines. Just enough of the first M of *Flaminiam* is preserved above *spectacula* to show that appendix 3 did exist. But, while the four appendices existed as in the *Mon. Anc.*, there is no evidence for Ramsay's idea (pp. 109, 112, 128) that the appendices in the *Mon. Ant.* were longer than in the *Mon. Anc.* It is necessary, as we have seen, to discard the fragment which Ramsay (p. 121) placed in appendix 4. There are two new fragments which join and assist in the arrangement of the lines. It is improbable that, as Ramsay (p. 128) says, the Latin version should mention the provincial towns before the Italian, while the Greek mentions the towns in Italy first. There is generally agreement between the Greek and Latin versions. I have adopted in the lacuna Von Premerstein's restoration proposed in the *Philologische Wochenschrift* XLII, 1922, 142. The *o* of *motu* has an accent here but not in the *Mon. Anc.* On the other hand the *o* of *quorum* has no accent here as in the *Mon. Anc.*

*Fragmenta incerta.* On plate VIIa are reproduced several small odds and ends. Some of these were placed too late to be included in the other plates. Others are doubtful, and some I have not been able to place at all. The fragments show at least three different hands and some may not belong to the *Res Gestae*. Several cannot be placed because they contain so few letters that they might go in different sections. The plate shows the letters

preserved and the traces of broken letters which cannot be given in type.

*Row 1.* In the first row the first fragment has the letters  
ONG

ATIS This fragment I have tried to fit at the end of c. 8 by  
O.REV

suggesting a new restoration for the lines there. The second fragment has the letters

XI

CENS

SVNT

VM

This does not seem to fit anywhere, not even in c. 8, unless we can change the order of words. If the C is a G and we read for *alterum et quadragensimum, quadragensimum et alterum* in the third line of c. 8, *sunt* in the next line and *iterum* in the following line would fit. But this is very doubtful, though possibly the traces of letters above CENS belong to *sexto*. The third fragment has been discussed on p. 46. The fourth with VIT could fit the end of *creavit* in c. 1, *consacravit* or *appellavit* in c. 11, *designavit* in c. 14, *navigavit* in c. 26. The fifth fragment is in the *scriptura quadrata* as is no. 5 in the second row. It seems to belong to *fetialis* and *patri-ciórum* in chapters 7 and 8. Fragment 6 seems to go at the end of chapter 20 and at the beginning of chapter 21, and so we have included it there. It is in the same cursive majuscule style as fragment 4.

*Row 2.* The first fragment here I have placed at the end of c. 23 and at the beginning of c. 24 (cf. p. 45). The second fragment seems to read 'FAC  
NESEN and probably goes in lines 3 and 4 of c. 1, where the same style of letters is used and a comma occurs as a mark of punctuation (see above p. 27 and pl. 1). The third fragment may go in c. 10. The fourth has an original upper edge and the same style of letters as those at the top of column IV, so that we should probably read there in the first line (c. 10, l. 7) *confluente* (cf. Suet., Jul. Caes. 16, *multitudo confluens*) instead of the restoration *coeunte*. There is not room for *tanta*. If *tanta* is read, then *confluente* should be shortened to *fluente*. Traces of the

last stroke of M and of E are visible in the second line of the fragment, probably part of *mentionem*. Fragment 5 may fit into c. 26, *regione . . . pacificavi nulli . . . Oceanum*. Fragment 6 I am unable to place satisfactorily. It will not fit c. 30 in *adit . . . imperio . . . quod*, nor in c. 8 in *imperio . . . Pompeio*. It might possibly be part of c. 8, end of lines 6-8 *censa . . . triginta . . . conlega*. If there were a mark of punctuation after RI, I should suggest chapters 2 and 3, *publicae . . . mari civilia . . . victorque*. Fragment 7 has the original right edge preserved and goes at the end of lines 8 and 9 in c. 8 in *Tib. and lustro*.

*Row 3.* The first fragment with AR over parts of RES may go in c. 1 in *comparavi . . . oppressam*. There are four letters more from the beginning of the line to *oppressam* than to *comparavi* but there are two M's in the first line which would increase its length; or the fragment may go in c. 13 in *marique . . . bis*, or in c. 17 in *darentur . . . sestertium*. The second fragment has so much smooth space below M that it must come at the end of a column, not at the close of a paragraph. The third fragment has an original left edge. The letters are badly worn but they seem to be IN over PVBL over TAR. My copy, made before the stone was broken, shows the projecting I of IN so that the fragment must be placed at the beginning of chapter 18. Fragment 4 has EO over VM over RI. Perhaps this goes in c. 15 in *meo . . . iterum . . . quadringenos*, especially if *consul* in line 3 was abbreviated. Fragment 5 is now placed in c. 13 in *a condita . . . principe*. Fragment 6 has a section mark after I in the third line under TVM under CIO, and fits the beginning of c. 8 in *Patriciorum* and *senatum* and *egi*. It probably would join the fifth fragment in row 1. Fragment 7 with OD over M could go in too many places to enable us to be certain of its assignment.

*Row 4.* The first fragment with O.SE over ME goes in c. 34 in *meó senatus . . . mearum* (cf. p. 50). The other fragments in this row have too few letters to enable us to locate them.

*Row 5.* The first fragment joins that given on pl. I, with

ECA and part of R before E as the oblique right edge shows. It confirms the reading *deprecatus* in c. 5, line 2. The second fragment with G over EG might possibly go at the end of c. 31 and the beginning of c. 32 in *reges . . . reges*. The third fragment with ET, the fourth with CON, the fifth with O over IA, the sixth with IM, and the eighth with M.E and part of O above could fit into many places but into no one with certainty. The seventh with IMO over the upper part of the letters MPE probably goes in c. 15 in *decimo* and *virilim pernumeravi*.

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PLATE I—Columns I and II and Heading.







PLATE II—Columns III and IV.









PLATE IV—Column VI.







PLATE V—Columns VII and VIII.





PLATE VI—Column IX.



PLATE  
SCT  
SOU

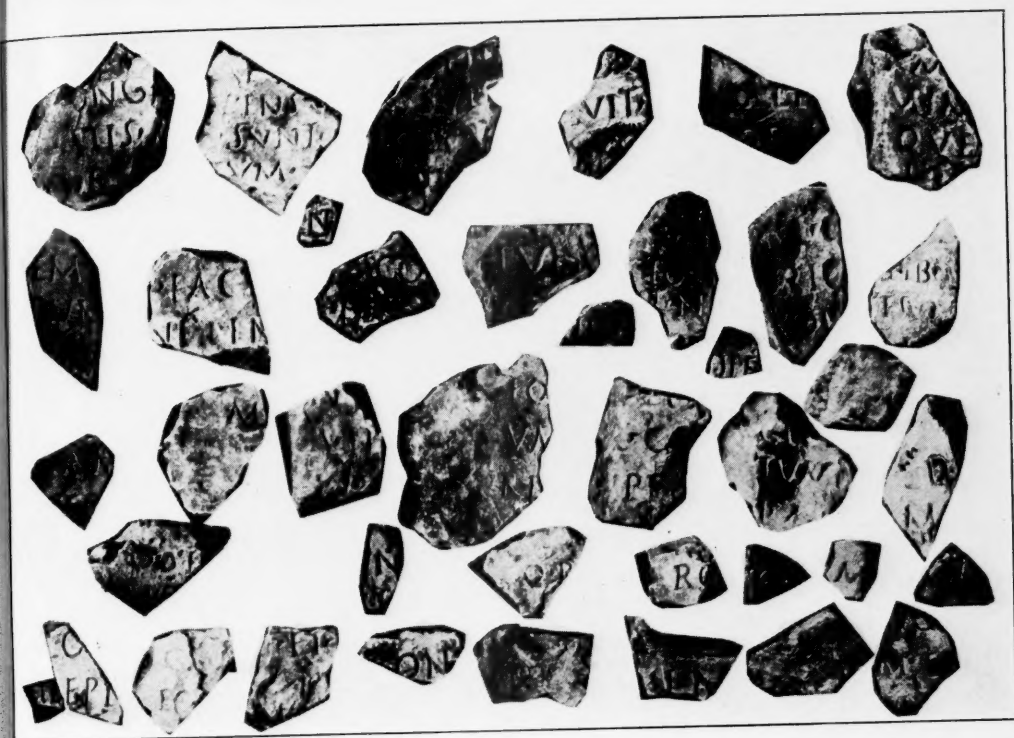


PLATE VII A—Miscellaneous Fragments.

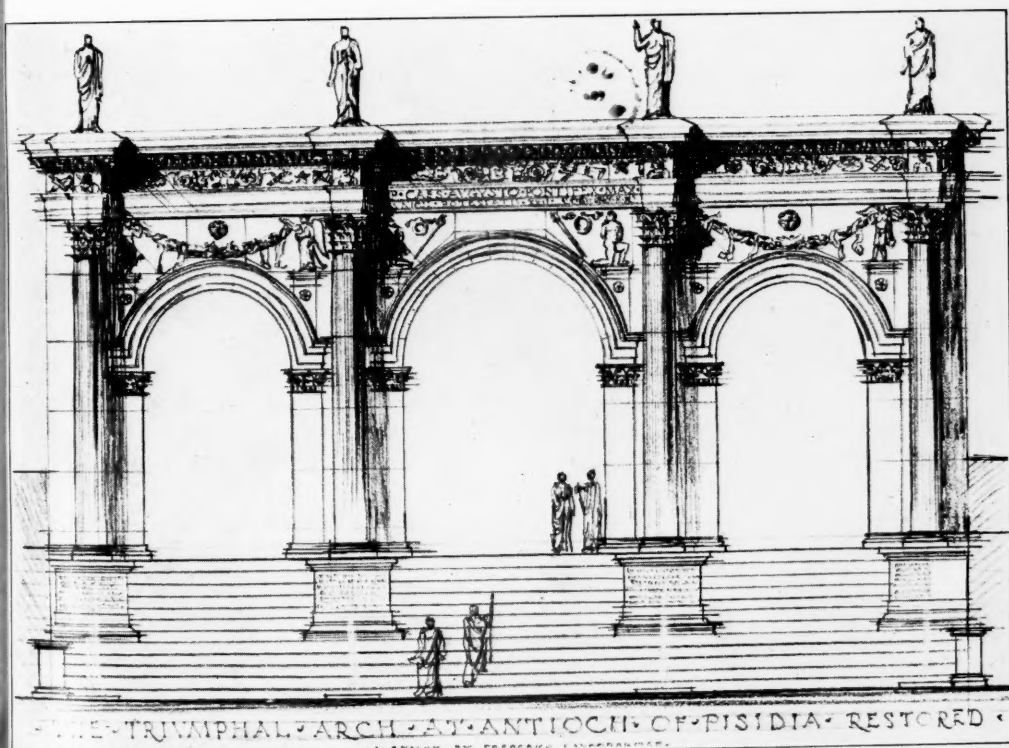


PLATE VII B—Tentative Restoration of Propylaea by F. J. Woodbridge, showing the inscribed pedestals. The last pedestal to the right or south was not inscribed on its southern half.





## THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IMPERIAL DOMAINS OF AFRICA.

When the inscriptions of the imperial domains in Africa were discovered the origin of the Roman colonate was being widely discussed. Naturally the new documents were eagerly examined for any possible light on the historic problem, and frequently the comments, interpretations and even the restorations made at the time reveal a preoccupation with the larger question which produced biased judgments.<sup>1</sup> Then came the period of what might be called the Oriental interpretation, after Ramsay<sup>2</sup> had called attention to the royal domains of Asia, and Paul Meyer had brought the Ptolemaic papyri into the discussion. Schulten,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is a pity that the latest inscription (of the Saltus Burunitanus, near Souk-el-Khmis, C. I. L. VIII, 10570) was found first. Mommsen in a brilliant essay upon that inscription, *Hermes*, 1880, 385 ff., began the discussion of the later colonate. Esmein, *Jour. Sav.* 1880, 686; Fustel de Coulanges, *Le Colonat romain*, 1884; Schulten, *Die römischen Grundherrschaften*, 1896, are useful studies.

Later were found the more important inscriptions of Henchir Mettich (C. I. L. VIII, 25902) and the similar ones of Aïn Ouassel (26416) and Aïn el Djemala (25943). It is difficult to over-value the splendid work of restoration devoted to these inscriptions by Toutain, *Mém. Acad. Inscr.* 1897, 31 ff.; Schulten, *Rhein. Mus.* 1901, 120 ff.; Rostovtzeff, *Stud. zur Gesch. Kol.* 320 ff., and Carcopino, *Mélanges de Rome*, 1906, 365 ff., and *Klio*, 1908, 154 ff. For the full bibliography see the Corpus, Girard, *Textes*,<sup>4</sup> pp. 199, 870, 874, 876; and Bruns, *Fontes*,<sup>5</sup> p. 259, 295, 300, 302.

<sup>2</sup> Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1895, 280; Meyer, *Philologus*, 1897, 201.

<sup>3</sup> Schulten's suggestions of Eastern influence are never forced: see *Röm. Grundherrschaft*; and *Klio* 1907, 188. Mitteis, *Aus den griech. Papyrusurkunden*, 1900, goes farther. Rostovtzeff, *Der Ursprung des Kolonats*, *Klio*, 1901, 295, first emphasized the importance of Asiatic parallels, but later in his *Stud. zur Gesch. des Kol.* 1911, abandoning this hypothesis gives more attention to Ptolemaic laws. Even if we are compelled to reject his fundamental theory and his conclusions for Africa we can still rely upon his acute analyses of the Ptolemaic laws in the first chapter, and some of his reconstructions of late economic history in the last brilliant pages of the book. Carcopino, in his excellent analysis of *La Loi de Hiéron*, 1914, also draws parallels between Africa, Sicily and Egypt, but with much moderation.

Mitteis, Carcopino, and especially Rostovtzeff (in a series of articles, and finally in his very remarkable book on the Roman Colonate) tried to explain various customs mentioned in the African inscriptions with reference to Oriental and Ptolemaic practices. The gain in general information about provincial conditions has justified the labor and acumen applied, but the African inscriptions have themselves been brought out of their natural setting in the process. It is my opinion that if we had avoided enticing parallels and had patiently studied these inscriptions in connection with local conditions we might now have a truer conception of the history of Rome's colonization of Africa than we have. We should find that the influences of Eastern customs was exceedingly slight and that the customs in question are so dependent upon local conditions that inferences from them as to the origin of the later colonate are quite premature. The purpose of the present study is to examine the history and the climatic and economic peculiarities of the region in which the inscriptions were found and to suggest in how far these peculiarities explain the conditions pictured in the inscriptions without reference to putative models, parallels, or sequels.

An adequate map of the province of Africa is not available, but we can work with the one found at the end of the Corpus, vol. VIII, part 2, if we supplement it for details with the folios of the *Atlas Archéologique de la Tunisie* (cf. folios 19, 20, 27, 28, 35).

The region of the Imperial Domains under discussion lies between, and including, Vaga and Thugga (north-south), between Tichilla (*Testour*) and Souk-el-Khmis<sup>4</sup> (east-west). This region was apparently not a part of the original province of 146 B. C., as is usually assumed, but was to a large extent given in quiritary possession to Marius' soldiers in 100 B. C. in individual assignments of 100 jugera lots, and at that time the province seems to have been enlarged to include this area. These circumstances give the region a peculiar history as we shall see, separating it in many ways from the rest of the province.

The region in question is not large, covering only about

<sup>4</sup> The Saltus Burunitanus probably lay somewhat further east than the map of the *Atlas* indicates.

25 x 30 Roman miles,<sup>5</sup> and it lies about fifty miles west of Carthage, north and south of the middle Bagradas river. The first of the inscriptions to be found was that of the Saltus Burunitanus (C. I. L. VIII 10570) which came to light three km. north of Souk-el-Khmis near the foothills of the rough mountain region where lay the Saltus. Since the first few lines of the imperial letter are repeated on a fragment (VIII, 14451) found in the mountains of Aïn Zaga to the north of this point and since Bulla Regia lay outside of the region we seem to have the northwest corner of the district here. For what seems to be the northeast corner we have the fragment (VIII, 14428) found in the hill-country of Gasr Mezuar a few miles northeast of Vaga. South of the Bagradas river the inscription of Hr. Mettich (25902) came to light 5 km. north of Thignica, that of Aïn el Djemala (25943) 6 km. southwest of the same town, and that of Aïn Ouassel (26416) 10 km. west of Thugga, all in rough, hilly country. The domains mentioned by the last two inscriptions and one other (Saltus Neronianus, Lamianus, Domitianus, Blandianus, Udensis, Tuzritanus and Thibaritanus) have been located with a fair degree of probability by Carcopino<sup>6</sup> in the region that lies between Hr. Mettich and Aïn Ouassel. There were, to be sure, other imperial domains in Africa,<sup>7</sup> known by name alone, but since the region in question has a peculiar history it is a reasonable procedure to interpret the documents found there as in the first instance applicable to local conditions.

In the first place we must know when and how the region was organized and settled by the Romans. Till recently it was supposed that this area became a part of the proconsular province in 146 B. C. when Carthage was destroyed, and that it fared as the rest of the province, being subject to the Roman confiscations of 146 and to the settlements prescribed by the agrarian law of 111 B. C. If this were true we should have to suppose, as is

<sup>5</sup> We know nothing as yet about the mountainous district between Thabraca and Vaga, that is the north coast-land. Marius may have included this region in the province while leaving most of it in the hands of stipendiary Libyans. This region is hardly habitable.

<sup>6</sup> *Mélanges*, 1906, 427, with a map.

<sup>7</sup> See Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften*, 556 ff.

generally assumed, that the region had fallen into the same state of neglect for a hundred years as did the rest, that it became stipendiary or decuman land,<sup>8</sup> and that the domains of Romans which the imperial saltus absorbed had grown up on such tracts. This proves to be very far from true.

Let us first try to discover when the Romans gained possession, for it is now well known that the "fossa regia" drawn by Masinissa and Scipio Aemilianus in 146 lay east of this region, and that the old line assumed by Mommsen and Wilmanns passing south from Thabraca near Bulla Regia was incorrect. Toutain (*Les Cités Romaines*, p. 19) and Gsell (*Histoire Anc. de l'Afrique du Nord*, III, 327 f.) basing their opinion on Tissot and recent discoveries lop off at least a third of the old province without going quite far enough. The northern terminus of the *fossa* Gsell places at Thabraca on the river Tusca on the testimony of Pliny V, 23. This is late testimony for the boundary of 146 B. C.; we shall return to the question presently. Vaga was certainly some distance inside Numidia when Metellus attacked Jugurtha in 109 for he marched on Numidian territory for some time before taking it (Sall. *Jug.* 47). Furthermore the boundary stones now known south of the Bagradas river are about 25 km. east of Vaga.<sup>9</sup> The first definitely known point of the old *fossa* is a few miles south of Tichilla where three cippi of Vespasian<sup>10</sup> mark the direction of the old *fossa*. These cippi are found about 12 km. east of the point where the Aïn el Djemala inscription was discovered by Carcopino.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See the law of 111 B. C., ll. 79-95, and Hardy's edition, note 46.

<sup>9</sup> Note too that the saltus mentioned at Gasr Mezuar was northeast of Vaga.

<sup>10</sup> See *C. I. L.* 25860; 25967 and note, and *Rev. Arch.* 1912, p. 456; also *Atlas Arch. folio*, *Teboursouk*, points 81, 98, 229. The boundary was not here in Vespasian's day since Caligula had moved it to Hippo-Calama; but since the land of the saltus region had originated as private property while that of the original province was largely stipendiary, vectigal, and decuman, the ex-publican emperor had good reason to mark the old line anew. When Pliny, *N. H.* V, 25, calls the "fossa" the boundary between the provinces he is, of course, using a source that antedates Caligula.

<sup>11</sup> Recently a Libyan inscription from a temple erected in honor of

Continuing from these stones the line must have turned due east very soon, for another mark (C. I. L. 23084) was found at Abthungi south of and near the conspicuous mountain of Zaghoun. This village is only 28 miles from the eastern sea-coast. From there the line ran apparently in a direct course to Thenae (Pl. N. H. V, 25). That it hardly bends inland is proved by the fact that in 46 B. C. Considius had to cross Numidian territory in marching around the west shore of lake Sidi-el-Hani.<sup>12</sup>

Now, going back to the northern terminus, we can hardly accept Thabraca as the original point for 146 B. C. when we find the line well east of Vaga, and crossing the Bagradas near Tichilla. This region is very mountainous and has never had many inhabitants. It is inconceivable that Scipio should have asked for that when he rejected so much of the Bagradas valley. As we shall see, the Saltus region was apparently added to the province by Marius, and it was then that Thabraca became the northern terminal of a new line which ran southward from the Tusca river, east of Bulla Regia, south of Thugga to join the old line a few miles southeast of Thugga.

These restricted boundaries drawn by Scipio are one of the surprises of Roman history. When we find that south of Zaghoun the province contained very little except the territory of the free towns of Hadrumetum, Tampsus, Leptis and Aquilla, and that north of this point there were the lands of Utica and Uzalis, we discover that within the original province there was less than 3000 square miles of ground to dispose of and nearly half of this was unarable. Those who find imperialism and land hunger in the senatorial policies of that time will find difficulty in explaining such facts.

Our immediate concern is, however, with the area of the domains, which, as we have found, was still outside of the province as shaped by Scipio in 146. That the country had long been settled by a vigorous stock of Libyans is proved by the many striking dolmens still to be seen there. More than a cen-

Masinissa has been found at Thugga. Its date is about 139 B. C. This is, of course, decisive evidence that Thugga lay in non-Roman territory at that time. See Lidzbarski, in *Sitz. Preuss. Akad.* 1913, p. 296.

<sup>12</sup> Cæs. Bell. Afr. 43.



ture before the fall of Carthage, Hanno, who represented the landholding nobility as opposed to the commercial-industrial imperialists led by the Barcids, was sent to subdue the Libyan tribes as far west as Theveste (Polyb. I, 72). During the Second Punic War, Carthage was master of the Bagradas area at least as far as Calama, and her position was not disturbed by the Roman treaty of 202. During their century of domination the Carthaginians must have penetrated very effectively, since many Punic graves and inscriptions are found in the mountain villages on both sides of the upper Bagradas and since, on the testimony of Apuleius, the Punic language was still spoken by the lower classes at Madauros late into the empire. The country was prosperous also: according to Appian (*Lib.* 68) Masinissa found fifty villages to add to his conquests in the neighborhood of Thugga, and Sallust's account of the Jugurthine war pictures a very prosperous region between Vaga and Sicca. We may well believe that the Punic landlords had grubbed the gorse from many of the hills and brought in additional tribes of Libyans to tend their crops and orchards. Whatever they may have done elsewhere, the Punic masters did not need to rely upon slave-culture in this tract.

In his old age Masinissa grew ambitious for an extensive empire, and relying upon the friendship of the Romans invaded this newly developed region, claiming that the people belonged to his ancestral tribes. Carthage counterattacked but was defeated and had to answer to Rome for making war without permission. She fell and the region in question was left in the dominion of Numidia.<sup>13</sup> Rome kept only what had been in the possession of Carthage at the very end (Sall. *Jug.* 19, 7), the region east of the "fossa regia." Now the sons of the recently deceased Masinissa held the territory and doubtless continued their father's policy (Pol. 37, 3) of advancing agriculture, while packs of wolves were running over the abandoned territory of Carthage. At any rate eastern Numidia is constantly described as a well-populated and prosperous country in the *Jugurthine War*. Metellus found an abundance of supplies here in 109 (Sall. *Jug.* 46, 7). Later he took captive a large number of the

<sup>13</sup> See the inscription on Masinissa's temple at Thugga, *Sitz. Preuss. Akad.* 1913, p. 296.



natives. In 107 Marius again invaded Numidia by way of the Bagradas valley in *agrum fertilem et praeda onustum* (Sall. 87), which he raided. We may well believe that during these three years the native males of military age were fairly well disposed of. In changing the basis of recruiting at Rome Marius had promised lands to those who enrolled in his army. He was now looking for lands with which to keep his promise, and the raids were probably conducted with that in view. Since the best of the Carthaginian fields had now been settled by Gracchan colonists and by purchasers invited by the regulations of 115 and 111 B. C., this was the best that Africa now had to offer. And it is here that the Marian colonists were finally sent when the Cimbric war was over and the soldiers could finally get their reward.

Since the direct evidence for this colonization has not convinced all historians it will be necessary to indicate inscriptional support which has been disregarded. The only literary reference is that of *De Viris Illust.* (73), which in itself would not be completely convincing. It reads: (Saturninus) *ut gratiam Marianorum militum pararet, legem tulit ut veteranis centena agri jugera in Africa dividerentur*. The uncertainty lies in the fact that Cicero once speaks of Saturninus' legislation as annulled by the senate (*De Leg.* II. 14). It is not clear whether Cicero's phrase is all-inclusive, and at any rate the senate's vote would not necessarily be final, or it might now as in 122 have revoked the colonial foundation without recalling the colonists. In confirmation of *De Viris Illustr.* we have the fact that Uchi Maius<sup>14</sup> and Thibar<sup>15</sup> near Thugga, both adopted the honorary title of *Mariana* when raised to municipal dignity in the empire. These titles raise a strong presumption that they attributed their origin to Marian colonization.

The domanial inscriptions contain phrases which are pertinent to the argument. According to the text of Hr. Mettich Trajan gave the privilege of tilling the land called *subcesiva*, and Hadrian extended the privilege (according to the two neighboring texts) to unfarmed lands inside the *centuriis elo-*

<sup>14</sup> C. I. L. VIII, 26270, 75, 83. This fact was noticed long ago.

<sup>15</sup> C. I. L. VIII, p. 2590.

*catis*. These are terms of the surveyors of colonial commissions who lay out lots for distribution over the arable portions, leaving the unarable unassigned. This surveying did not belong to the Gracchan period since this region was not then provincial, and it does not belong to Cæsar's day for he left this region undisturbed. Here again we have evidence of Marius' colony, and this brings us into the very center of the tract where lay the saltus Udensis and Blandianus between Aïn Ouassel and Aïn el Djemala.

There is furthermore the fact that in a number of the towns of this region inscriptions reveal a peculiar double organization of a *civitas* and a *pagus*, in which the *pagani* are Roman citizens and the *pagus* of greater dignity than the town. If we can suppose a viritane settlement of Roman citizens this is easily comprehended, not otherwise. We see this double organization best in the inscriptions of Thugga<sup>10</sup> where both the *pagus* and the *civitas* had full government organs, both had patrons, both had the *jus legatorum*, and the individuals of both parts were interested in advancing the town. The two parts often act independently, but not infrequently join in building temples and in honoring the emperors with laudatory epigrams. The

<sup>10</sup> Dessau gives the main facts about these *pagi* in C. I. L. VIII, p. 2615. The misunderstanding of them has been due to confusion with other *pagi* elsewhere. (a) Near the Gracchan colony the natives were organized in *pagi*, as in Cisalpine Gaul. Cf. the recent inscription at Utica dating about 57 B. C. in which three *pagi* of stipendiaries express gratitude to the Roman quaestor, C. R. Ac. 1913, 106. (b) A totally different group of *pagi* is found in Augustus' settlement of veterans on land which he apparently bought in 14 B. C. These *pagi* are named after divinities: *Mercurialis* and *Fortunalis* near Uthina, *Minervius* near Bizerta, and, probably of the same type, *Veneriensis* at Sicca. The *pagi* of the Marian region differ from these two types in that they are townships of citizens near Libyan towns, but while bearing the name of the town, they are the more important element and finally absorb the town. They are probably modelled on old Italic *pagi* or on the Campanian townships settled viritim after 211 B. C. Discussions which are helpful but have somewhat confused these three types are found in Kornemann, *Philol.* 1901, 402 ff., Barthel, *Gesch. Röm. Städte in Africa*, 1904, Merlin and Poinssot, *Notes et Documents*, 1908; Schulten's theory (*Arch. Anz.* 1912, 393) that the *pagi* of the Thugga region are Augustan military settlements is impossible.

strange thing is that the *pagus* is the more distinguished part so that in united action the formula always reads *pagus et civitas*. It is quite clear that the *civitas* of natives, which had been an important Libyan center, continued to thrive, that it retained some of its territory (cf. 25988), that even Roman traders settled there, and that besides this there was an even more important group of Roman citizens organized by *pagus*. These allotments did not belong to the Gracchan time, since this was then Numidia, nor to Caesar's or Augustus' colonies, since the latter were compact colonies of the regular type. We clearly have to do with the Marian assignments.<sup>17</sup>

At Uchi Majus the evidence for two groups is not full, though the *pagus* with its *magistri* is frequently spoken of. But there is one interesting record of a division which reads *castellum divisit inter colonos et Uchitanos terminque constituit* (26274) which is most easily explained as evidence of a separation between the Marians and the native townsmen. It will be remembered that Uchi claimed Marian descent when it finally received colonial dignity. Thignica, in whose vicinity was found the inscription of Aïn el Djemala, was a city of natives where the worship of the Punic Saturn (Baal Ammon) continued long into the empire (C. I. L. VIII, p. 1451). It was naturally called a *civitas* but the picturesque formula *utroque pars civitatis* reveals a division here also. Finally three smaller towns within this same region reveal the same combination as Thugga. Agbia, 4 km. south of Thugga, has a record of *decuriones pagi et civitatis* (VIII, no. 1548). The groups were later united in a *municipium* (27415). Numluli, which lay in the hills in the center of the whole complex, has a *pagus* as well as a *civitas*, and *decuriones utriusque ordinis* (26121, 26125) before it be-

<sup>17</sup> In Africa the word *civitas* was used in the restricted sense for any native tribe or any portion of a tribe that had its own organization. And since the tribes of western Numidia had been segregating into separate villages under the influence of the Carthaginian domination, it is natural that in many cases the "*civitates*" are little else than village groups, and being village groups they begin under Roman rule gradually to include Romans who settle to trade there, until in time the Romans predominate in the aggregate. Nevertheless the *pagus* and the *civitas* usually continue to have separate organizations until combined by some imperial grant of municipal or "colonial" dignity.

came a municipality; and Avenensis, near Souk-el-Khmis, is spoken of as *pagus et civitas* (26157).

To this evidence of a peculiar administration in this area should be added the fact that the Roman citizens within it seem all to belong to the same *tribus*, the Arnensis. This is the ward of Uchi and Thibaris (the two towns that claim Marian origin), of Thugga, Thignica, Agbia and Numluli (four of the places that show a double organization), and also of Thubursicum Bure and Thimida Bure (both near Aïn Ouassel), of Vaga, and several of the smaller places of the region.<sup>18</sup> In fact we know no town within this district that belonged to a different *tribus*.

There can be little doubt left that the land-law of Saturninus went into effect and that many of Marius' veterans who had campaigned in this region and seen its prosperity had returned to accept lands here. Even if only two legions responded to the invitation, 600,000 jugera would be required for them, and since many native villages were left, and since large tracts are hopelessly rough there would be over a million jugera to account for. The area that lies between Vaga and Thugga would, therefore, not more than suffice for two legions, but we may reasonably assume several thousand colonists. It is not surprising that Marius attempted to seek refuge in Africa when proscribed by Sulla, and that Sulla's general, Pompey, found a strong Marian army in the province later.

It is very likely that the whole region was annexed to the province at once by the agrarian law of Saturninus, for the Roman citizens would desire the protection of the provincial government and access to the *propraetor's* court. Hence "Aurelius Victor" could correctly say that the lots were assigned in "Africa." Just where the new boundary was drawn we do not know, except that it began at Thabraca, excluded

<sup>18</sup> Since this is the *tribus* of Carthage it is likely that Gracchus had assigned it there first and that Marius added his colonists to the same group. Thabraca has the same ward. Perhaps Marius intended to make that place the port town of his colony. That the Arnensis did not extend all the way from Carthage is proved by the fact that intermediate towns have the Papiria (Vallis and Tuccabor) and the Quirina (Thuburbo Minus). Beyond our region, Bulla Regia and Sicca are registered in the Quirina.

Bulla Regia, and ran south of Thugga, excluding Sicca and Zama Regia, which were in Numidian territory in 46 B. C. We have seen that Vespasian's re-marking of the previous line had nothing to do with provincial boundaries of his day. He probably set his cippi there to mark off an area of peculiar economic privileges.

In that economic difference lies one of the most important factors in the creation of vast estates here, for here was a large complex of farms, orchards and grazing lands which had been given and was held *jure Quiritium*. Whereas in Spain, Asia, Sicily and much of the rest of Africa, Roman citizens who acquired estates had to pay the stipends and dues that attached to provincial land, there was here a large tract that was not subject to any of those dues. Is it surprising that this area seemed desirable to Roman investors?

We may then attempt to sketch the story of this region briefly thus. The area, though not at present the most desirable in Africa, had been developed to its fullest capacity by the Punic landlords employing Numidian labor. The rainfall is better than in most parts of the province, the lands were far from exhausted and they had remained unscathed by the damage and neglect that for so long fell to the lot of Carthaginian lands after 146. Marius distributed the land in unusually large lots of one hundred jugera, so that the colonists began as large farmers. No one man can cultivate more than ten or fifteen jugera of farm land with the tools or intensive methods used by the Romans. Much extra labor would be needed. For this purpose Marius left a large number of Libyan villages, particularly of the Burenses, inside the complex, as a reference to the Atlas Archéologique will prove. Some at least had lands attached, doubtless subject to a stipend. Probably many of the villagers were at once invited to accept tenancies, for the Numidian likes his independence; others would hire out as laborers. There is no reason to suppose that much slave labor was introduced since natives who knew the soil, the climate, and the crops were available. The many native villages would hardly have prospered as they did if slave culture had been introduced extensively, and that many of them prospered is more than apparent from the inscriptions of Thugga, Thubursicum Bure, and Thignica.



But we may also assume that concentration of holdings began very soon. Some of Marius' soldiers were of the urban proletariat who knew nothing about agriculture and would have little patience with isolated farm life. If in eighteen years the colonial lots of Sulla at Praeneste aggregated into the hands of a few owners as Cicero says (*De Leg. Agr.* II, 78), we may well imagine what happened on the Bagradas. A few, presumably, prospered and bought out their neighbors, some sank into the position of tenants. Many doubtless sold out and returned to Rome to spend the cash; others may have drifted into their customary trading in the villages and in Utica. In the early Empire, the great landlords were of course citizens, the tenants were largely Libyans, but some were Romans.

Julius Cæsar, who colonized Carthage and changed the provincial line,<sup>19</sup> left the district quite undisturbed. This may be due to his usual deference to Marian institutions, but it may also be because all good land had already been occupied here, and the native villages were needed by the Roman citizens in the very condition in which they were. In the peaceful days of Augustus when much grain was imported to Italy from Africa the concentration went on apace. It is probably here that Frontinus found the private estates as extensive as some tribal territories, estates which had whole villages of natives within and about (*De Controv.*, p. 45 Th.). The description fits the Marian region excellently. And Hirschfeld and Carcopino<sup>20</sup> are doubtless right in referring to this region the tiresome platitude of Pliny (18, 35) regarding the six landlords who owned the half of Africa before Nero murdered them and confiscated their estates. Of lands available for Roman purchase in Africa this district probably constituted very nearly a half. If Nero had been like Vespasian in any respect, one might hazard the conjecture that the purpose in the confiscation was to draw into the treasury the one large area of provincial land which paid nothing to the

<sup>19</sup> It is probable that Cæsar, in shaping the new province of Numidia, allotted this district to the latter since Pliny, who follows Agrippa's survey, speaks of the "fossa" as the dividing line. After 37 A. D. the fossa was no longer a boundary.

<sup>20</sup> See *Mélanges* 1906, p. 434 f.



support of the state. Very likely the treasury department had reminded him of the pertinent fact.<sup>21</sup>

The data we have gathered are not as explicit as we should desire, but we know enough to justify the conclusion that the region had a peculiar history which goes far to explain the existence of the remarkable group of domains within, and to warn against any assumption that the conditions found on these domains are characteristic of the rest of Africa or the rest of the Roman empire. There is nothing here to justify elaborate theories about a putative slave economy of the republic giving away to a new tenantry during the empire, about the introduction of foreign ideas of extra-territoriality, of Egyptian and Syrian systems of land administration, and all the rest. These plantations grew up naturally out of the local conditions, and tell their own simple story and little else.

In order to lay a broader basis for a safe interpretation of the inscriptions found here it is also desirable to see in how far the economic conditions of the place due to soil, climate, and crops correspond with those of other regions of Africa, for some of the problems presented by the inscriptions can be solved only by such an examination. There are several excellent books upon this subject which will help the traveller in Africa to observe conditions. Rivière and Lecq, *Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le nord de l'Afrique* 1914, Tourniérroux, *L'oléiculture en Tunisie* (Tunis, 1922), the last *Rapport* of the Tunisian government *Sur la situation de la Tunisie* (Tunis, 1924), Gauckler, *Enquête sur les Installations Hydrauliques Romaines en Tunisie* 1897-1902, and the *Atlas Archéologique de la Tunisie* are in fact better guides to the comprehension of the ancient African inscriptions than are Ptolemaic revenue laws. Tunis is very far from being a unit, and the agricultural region may be divided into many very distinct groups. The region of the domains is very hilly and only small parts of it are now under cultivation.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> It is interesting to find that at least three large private estates survived in the district, the *Praedia Pullaeorum* near Aïn Ouassel and the estates of Rufus Volusianus and of Tigius near Teboursouk; see *Atlas Arch.*

<sup>22</sup> The physiography of this region is well described in Monchicourt, *La Région du Haut Tell en Tunisie*, 1913, p. 110.

Most of it is covered with thickets of gorse, myrtle, juniper, asphodel, and all kinds of briars. Here and there the Arabs grub the hillsides to sow small patches of wheat or to plant a few olive trees, but except for the narrow valleys most of it is now given over to pasture for sheep, goats, and a few camels and puny horses. At the very place where Carcopino found the famous text of Aïn el Djemala a fox crossed the road as I passed. Carcopino has reproduced a photograph (*Mélanges* 1906, opp. p. 398) which gives a characteristic scene of the region. The hills rise almost a thousand feet within a mile of the place; and in general the whole region is a continuous undulation rising and falling between 500 and 1500 feet above sea level. It is of course quite misleading to speak of this country as being a part of "the fertile Bagradas valley," and to suggest that the inscriptions may refer to the work of irrigation as in Egypt. How would one irrigate such land? However, it was far more fertile when Marius took it, for it had then been recently reclaimed by the best methods of Punic agriculture. The woods and briars had been cleared for the first time, so that there was still a thick layer of rich humus to cultivate. Careful terracing and gulying probably saved the land from erosion for many generations. The rainfall is not over-abundant, but though the summers are dry it averages about 50 cm. per annum, and this is enough for wheat which starts and matures early here. The earlier inscriptions seem to have reference especially to wheat growing, while the later ones refer constantly to the planting of olives, figs and vines. This change had its natural causes. Such steep hillsides would in time erode despite the best efforts at terracing, and the only salvation would lie in turning to horticulture. The change does not betoken unscientific farming, or unreasonable exploitation on the part of the Roman state, or a change of imperial policy, or the introduction of eastern ideas. And when we hear of abandoned land it does not mean that the tenant is being oppressed. It probably means only that some sanguine farmer has tried to raise wheat on land better suited to pasture or to horticulture and has seen his mistake. Even now after centuries of rest wheat will not come back to the steeper hillsides because there is not enough soil on the rocks. Olives and figs and vines doubtless will, if ever the tariffs of France, Italy, and America are lowered to the point

where a favorable market can be found to justify the costs of reclamation.

In view of the tendency to draw inferences for the whole of Africa from the inscriptions found here it will be well to make some comparisons. (1) The flat alluvial region of the lower Bagradas, the original domain of Carthage, is far better grain-land because it does not suffer from erosion. However, the rainfall is less abundant here, averaging only 40 cm. per year, so that the wheat crop occasionally fails. The chief difficulty here is that the summer is so dry that there is little opportunity to relieve the land by a rotation of crops. Clover, for instance, will not survive the summer. There is very little water available for irrigation. The only remedy against exhaustion so long as wheat was desired was to manure, or plow in winter vetch or resort to years of fallow—all expensive methods. The land had been lying half-fallow for twenty-five years when the Gracchan settlers came, and probably produced well for a long time. This is doubtless the land which in the late republic made the African province famous for wheat production. But the period of dangerous exhaustion cannot be put off indefinitely in a region where a long dry season limits the choice of crops. It is, therefore, not surprising that here too landowners began to give up wheat-raising and resorted to horticulture in the late Empire. And when once the owner has gone to the expense of planting olives or vines and has adapted his whole staff and stock to it, he cannot be readily induced by an occasional rise in the price of wheat to cut down his orchard and return to wheat culture. Hence it was that in so many places in Africa olives supplanted wheat during the Empire.

2). South of the plain there is a mountainous tract extending from Cape Bon to Zaghuan somewhat rougher than the Saltus region and less blessed with rain. In the valleys some important Roman estates grew up, but there never was an extensive Roman colonization here, and the region was never reckoned as of great value.

3). South of these mountains behind the coast of Hadrumetum (Sousse) there is a narrow, semi-arid region of slightly undulating country where the precipitation averages about 30 cm. per year. Not more than half the wheat crops reach maturity here, but when it happens that the rains are good in November

and April the yield is excellent, since the soil is saved from exhaustion by frequent droughts. Needless to say, farmers do not now sow large areas in grain and probably did not in Roman times. By employing a peculiar system of culture it is possible to get good results with olives. Since the region is undulating the planter leaves the knolls bare as a kind of impluvium on which to catch the late spring rains. The water is carefully directed by artificial channels to the roots of the olive trees, which are planted only on the lower ground. In this way the trees get enough water before May to carry the fruit to maturity. That the Romans used the very same method here is proved by the remains of numerous stone and cement channels and dykes.

4). Further south, near El Djem, where stood the large Roman city of Thysdrus, the land is too flat for such methods, but here fortunately there is a level limestone stratum near the surface which in many places catches and holds the scanty rain-water long enough to save the olive trees through the summer. Only in rare places can wheat grow here.

5). Below El Djem, in the region of Sfax (Roman Taparura, a few miles from Thenae) the rainfall is only about 20 cm. per annum, which under normal conditions would preclude any attempt at raising crops. Fifty years ago the region was in fact a desert except near the coast where subsoil moisture reached the roots of trees. Yet encouraged by the remains of Roman farm villas the Arabs experimented with fruit trees till the secret of success was discovered. Since the French occupation, large planters with capital have adopted the methods of the natives and have now extended the splendid olive orchards fifty miles inland in one uninterrupted garden. The method employed is to set the trees wide apart and constantly to harrow the ground, which is loose and sandy, so as to prevent evaporation by breaking the capillarity, to rake in the morning dew which is abundant near the sea and to destroy weeds which waste moisture. So far as this method can be employed the desert has here become an orchard as it was during the Empire.

6). Finally, it has recently been discovered that the region of Sbeitla (Sufetula) also, where several large Roman cities sprang up in the Empire, can be made productive again. This region lies a hundred miles southwest of Hadrumetum on a low plateau between mountain ranges. In 1900 it was still a moun-

tainous land of desiccated steppes to which the nomads resorted with their flocks only during the brief rainy season of mid-winter. The railway which now passes through to the phosphate region of Gafsa has brought in a few experimental agriculturalists who have faith that what Romans once did the French can do. It has been found that the clay and limestone strata carry some subsoil moisture from the hills, so that if young olive trees are watered by hand through a few summers their roots will penetrate into enough moisture to carry the annual crop to maturity. A few perennial springs in the region supplemented with winter rainwater stored in cisterns can be made to supply the immediate needs of a large population. It would be insane, however, to suppose that wheat had ever been raised here or at Sfax except in small house gardens watered from cisterns.

It must be apparent that the several regions of Tunis which we have mentioned differ very much from each other in climate, soil, and methods of cultivation. So far was the province of Africa from being adapted to methods in vogue in Italy, Egypt and Asia that itself was not a unit in any respect. The French are recognizing these differences and are applying special methods of settlement for the diverse regions as the Romans did. At Sfax, for instance, capitalists have been encouraged to buy the unoccupied land and to engage Arabs to plant and cultivate it on a system of *emphyteusis*. The contract provides support for the period of heavy expenses, calling for rental in kind at a postponed date. Since much extra labor is needed to harvest the olive crop the nomad shepherds are induced to come down earlier than before to gather it in. Near Sousse where some grain can grow between the trees which will support the planter through the year, small proprietors are found living in villages. In regions like Sbeitla and Enfida, where initial expenses are heavy and natives are not numerous, coöperative colonial enterprises are undertaken by Europeans. In the hilly regions near Sicca where the rains are fair but the labor of terracing is too tedious for Europeans, the natives are encouraged by advances of money and promises of roads and supplies of drinking water to accept permanent allotments on various plans of *emphyteusis*, the land to become their property (subject to tax) after ten years of cultivation and proofs of substantial planting. On the



richer soil near Tunis no inducements have to be offered since European farmers—Italians as well as French—have been eager to buy out Arabian farmers, succeeding the natives through the use of better tools and a more intelligent comprehension of market needs.

Diversity of methods naturally leads to a diversity of social groupings now as in Roman days. The capitalists that own large tracts at Sfax are apt to live in Tunis or even in Paris. The responsible farmers live in the city of Sfax, partly because of the difficulty of getting drinking water out in the country, while the nomad laborers used at harvest time live in temporary shelters during their period of service. Near Sousse and near Thugga a simple village system of native farmers is in vogue; on some of the large estates near Tunis there is much subletting as well as employment of farm laborers, especially of Arabs and Italians. Tunis is and always has been a land of great diversity.

We have been assuming that climatic conditions are now practically what they were in Roman times, that the crops differ but little, that the Roman methods of agriculture are largely being used again and that accordingly social groupings are coming to be similar to those of Roman times. When Mommsen and Wilmanns (who edited the first volume of the African inscriptions) travelled in Africa they found the south and southwest parts seemingly irrevocable deserts. Because of their descriptions, historians of Rome have generally inferred either that the climate has deteriorated or that the Romans employed systems of irrigation not now available. The elaborate French survey of the Roman water supply <sup>23</sup> of Tunis was undertaken partly to examine these theories in preparation for an intelligent reclamation of the country. This survey discovered few traces of irrigation. What it disclosed was an immense number of cisterns for catching and storing rainwater during the winter for drinking purposes,<sup>24</sup> moderate ones for individual farm houses, enormous ones for cities that did not have aqueducts leading

<sup>23</sup> See Gauckler, *op. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> Such cisterns are still to be seen everywhere. Over the cistern there is generally a large cement catch-basin, since the roofs of the houses would not suffice for the amount that must be stored through the long dry season.



from perennial springs. Very few of these cisterns could have supplied enough for gardens. Rivers were seldom dammed for irrigation since most of them run dry in summer.

As for the supposed change in climate which has been so recklessly assumed in recent books on "climatic pulses," there is no support for the theory in the French survey. The facts that the Romans depended on cisterns where the Arabs do now, that near Sousse olives had to be grown by use of the "impluvium" and *segua* then as now, that the remains of olive presses and mills prove the same distribution of crops, these entirely preclude a theory of climatic change—and the facts in the case have been available for twenty-five years. Such facts are not controverted by a scrapbook reference found in Pliny's volumes of curiosities mentioning places in Africa<sup>25</sup> where one grain of wheat could produce 300 stalks. This may as well be set down as an advertising exhibit sent to lure investors. When the French first began to colonize Algiers they sent similar agricultural curiosities from well-watered gardens to the exposition at Paris.

This historical and geographic orientation is essential for the comprehension of the famous inscriptions. To neglect local conditions which created the situation pictured in them and then resort for an explanation to eastern parallels, which are in no respects apposite, is mere waste of effort. In the next number we shall attempt a commentary on the texts in question.

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<sup>25</sup> Rivière et Lecq, p. 86.

## A NEW ACCOUNT OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN MAHĀVĪRA AND GOŚĀLA.

The locus classicus for the relations between the Jina, Mahāvīra, and the leader of the Ājīvikas, Gośāla, has always been the Bhagavatī Sūtra, Sarga XV.<sup>1</sup> Its account, however, is quite condensed, with many details omitted, and the whole question of the association of Vīra with Gośāla, their final separation and later hostility has remained obscure.<sup>2</sup> It is of great interest, therefore, to find in Sargas III, IV, and VIII of Hemacandra's Mahāvīracaritra a detailed narrative of their association for almost seven years. It differs from the Bhagavatī on some points and supplements it on many; and, though its comparatively late date<sup>3</sup> keeps it from having the same weight as the Bhagavatī, it surely represents a substantial Jaina tradition. It is also very enlightening in regard to Gośāla's character from the Jaina point of view.

Hemacandra's account is as follows.<sup>4</sup> Gośāla was the son of a Mañkhya,<sup>5</sup> Mañkhali, and his wife, Bhadrā, who wandered over the earth carrying a picture as a means of livelihood. He was born in the cow-shed of a Brahman in the village Śaravaṇa. He also learned the 'mañkha art.' Naturally quarrelsome, disobedient and deceitful, he quarreled with his parents, took a picture, and went off by himself. He arrived in Nālandā, a suburb of Rājagṛha, at a time when Vīra was there. This was during the second rainy season after Vīra's initiation. Vīra was occupying a weaver's house<sup>6</sup> and allowed Gośāla to occupy it also, 'like a jackal in the presence of a lion.' When Vīra

<sup>1</sup> See App. I, Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, and App. I, Hoernle's ed. of the *Upāsakadaśāsūtra*.

<sup>2</sup> See Hoernle's article on the Ājīvikas in the *E. R. E.*, I, p. 259 ff., for discussion of all references known up to that time.

<sup>3</sup> Twelfth century.

<sup>4</sup> Sarga III. 373 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The usual form of the word is 'mañkha.' See Hoernle, loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Leumann, Rockhill's *L. B.*, p. 250, n. 2, seems to infer that the 'tantuvāyaśāla' was open to the public. Hemacandra says that Vīra had obtained permission from the weaver to occupy the house, and Gośāla obtained permission from him.

broke his fast at the house of the merchant Vijaya, Gośāla observed that the gods rewarded Vijaya, and decided that Vīra was no ordinary muni. So he decided to give up begging with his picture and to become a disciple of Vīra. While Vīra was absorbed in meditation, Gośāla announced to him his intention of becoming his disciple. Vīra had taken a vow of silence and did not reply at all; but Gośāla attached himself to him and 'did not leave the Master's side, day or night.' After he had been in attendance two months, he thought to test Vīra's wisdom, and asked him what he would receive as alms at the great festival of the rainy season. Vīra himself did not answer, but the Vyantara Siddhārtha, who had formerly been Vīra's cousin and had been appointed by Śakra to watch over him, replied for him. He told just what alms Gośāla would receive. Gośāla made every effort to avoid these, but, of course, it turned out that the alms he received were just as described. Because of this incident Gośāla evolved the doctrine of *niyati* (fate).<sup>7</sup>

In the meantime Vīra had gone to Kollāka, and Gośāla could not learn where he had gone. After he had searched in vain in Nālandā, Gośāla shaved his head and adopted nudity. He had evidently worn clothing up to this time. According to Hemacandra, Vīra himself had given up clothing a year after his initiation.<sup>8</sup> Gośāla went to Kollāka and found Vīra. He admitted that he had formerly been unworthy of initiation because of his devotion to clothes, etc., but now he had given up this devotion and begged Vīra to take him as a disciple. 'Be my guru for life. I can not endure a moment without you.' Vīra knew that it was possible for him to be enlightened and so ac-

<sup>7</sup> Sarga III. 397.

<sup>8</sup> During the first year he wore half of a garment. He had given away the other half. His half slipped from his shoulders and he did not trouble to pick it up. Hemacandra's account does not support Hoernle's theory that Gośāla was the originator of the nudity-practice and may have influenced Vīra to adopt it. Hoernle also says that the Jain scriptures say that Vīra attached himself to the clothed community of Pārśva and adopted nudity about the time he met Gośāla, but he does not give the reference to the scriptures. No such statement is made in the Kalpa Sūtra nor in the Ācārāṅga Sūtra. The Jains themselves (Jaina Gazette, XXI. 135) have called attention to the incorrectness of the statement that Vīra belonged to Pārśva's order.

cepted him as a disciple. Another slight incident that demonstrated Vīra's omniscience soon confirmed Gośāla in his doctrine of *niyati*.<sup>9</sup>

Henceforth, Gośāla accompanied Vīra in his wandering. Gośāla was perpetually in trouble with the villagers, because of his innate depravity. Several times, in the name of Vīra he cursed persons who had offended him and had their houses burned by Vyantaras. On two occasions he was well beaten by village youths because he concealed his presence in empty houses they had chosen as trysting-places. He complained to Vīra that he allowed him to be beaten, but the Vyantara Siddhārtha, answering for Vīra, pointed out that his beatings were caused by his own conduct.

He also engaged in a controversy with followers of Pārśva-nātha, who were wearing clothes and carrying bowls, etc. (About six months after his initiation, Vīra himself vowed to take food only in his hand.)<sup>10</sup> Gośāla enquired who they were, and they replied, 'We are Nirgranthas (free from possessions), disciples of Pārśva.' Gośāla ridiculed the idea that they were Nirgranthas when they had the *granthas* (possessions) of clothes, etc. 'Without interest in clothes, etc., indifferent to the body, such is my teacher of dharma; such are Nirgranthas.' They, 'not knowing the Lord of Jinas,' made a pertinent—and impertinent—retort, whereupon Gośāla uttered his usual curse, but it had no effect on them. He reported this to Vīra, and Siddhārtha explained to him that they were really disciples of Pārśva and that his curse was powerless against them.

The next incident was the arrest of Vīra and Gośāla, since

<sup>9</sup> Sarga III. 418.

<sup>10</sup> Sarga III. 76. The Kalpa Sūtra, as well as Hemacandra, also distinctly states that Vīra 'accepted alms in the hollow of his hand' (S. B. E., XXII, p. 260). It puts the adoption of the practice at the same time as the adoption of nudity—thirteen months after initiation. Hoernle says (E. R. E. I, p. 265): 'Mahāvira permitted the possession of a bowl for the reception of the begged food. Gośāla denied the justice of this permission, because the ascetic could and should make use of his hand for that purpose (cf. J. S. I, p. 57, n. 2 and II, p. 267, n. 2).' In elaborating his theory that the Ājīvikas and Digambaras are the same, Hoernle ignores the fact that, though the Śvetāmbaras have certainly always used bowls, Vīra himself did not use one.

Vīra had as usual refused to answer any questions, because of his vow of silence. The guards bound Gośāla, threw him in a well, and drew him up and down like a jar. Two disciples of Pārśva heard of the incident and rescued them.

Vīra passed the fourth rainy season in Prṣṭhacampā and then went to Kṛtamaṅgala. Here two wealthy pākhaṇḍins (heretics, i. e. Hindus) with all their families held a festival in their family temple where Vīra was engaged in kāyotsarga. Gośāla, as was his custom, angered the party by impertinent remarks, and was expelled from the temple. But it was a very cold night, and they soon relented and allowed him inside. As soon as he was warm, he made insulting remarks again, and was again expelled, and again allowed to enter. The same thing happened several times, until the young pākhaṇḍins were exasperated to the point of beating him. They were restrained by the older men, however, on the ground that he was perhaps an attendant of the devārya (Vīra). They told the young men to let him talk as he liked, and to play the musical instruments, if they could not endure to hear him!

In Śrāvastī, their next stop, Gośāla caused a group of houses to be burned by the Vyantaras, because of his anger with a woman who had given him human flesh as alms. At another place, Gośāla terrified village boys who were playing near a temple, and was beaten by their fathers. He reproached Vīra for allowing it, and the Vyantara Siddhārtha told him he deserved the beating, 'because of that nature of yours, which penetrates you, as a disease penetrates the body.' The same thing occurred in the next village and, when he repeated the offense after the boys' fathers had beaten him once, they decided it was the proper thing to beat the Master. Their evil intention was frustrated by the statue of Balarāma which stood up with its plow raised to strike them.

At their next stop, when Gośāla went for alms, he came under suspicion of being a thief and was beaten; whereupon he caused a pavilion to be burned. Then Gośāla and Vīra were arrested as thieves. When questioned, the Lord had remained silent as usual, and Gośāla 'remained silent from love of strife.' Vīra was recognized by a former retainer of King Siddhārtha, who obtained their release.



Vīra then went to the Mleccha country to destroy karma, for it was very difficult to find assistants in the destruction of karma in the Aryan country. Gośāla endured his share of discomfort from the treatment by the Mlecchas. After their return they passed the fifth rainy season at Bhaddila. Several incidents are related now to demonstrate Gośāla's greed when he received alms. There was another meeting with followers of Pārśva, whom Gośāla ridiculed. Next, Vīra and Gośāla were again seized and tortured as spies, and were again released through the intercession of followers of Pārśva. After their release Vīra started for Viśālī with Gośāla, but when they reached a point where the road divided, Gośāla announced to Vīra that he would accompany him no longer, because he looked on indifferently when he (Gośāla) was beaten, and because he (Gośāla) was in danger from the calamities (*upasarga*) that Vīra endured. 'Besides, the people beat me first, then you.' He also held a grudge against Vīra because he was indifferent to everything. 'Who would serve you who make no distinction between a stone and a jewel, a forest and a town, sunshine and a bower, fire and flood, one who wishes to kill and a servant? . . . Henceforth, I will not do it.' Vīra replies that he may do as he likes; that *he* will not change his conduct. So they separated. Vīra proceeded to Viśālī and Gośāla started alone to Rājagṛha. On the way, he passed through the great forest where there were five hundred thieves. Their lookout announced Gośāla's coming, but said he was nude and without possessions. The thieves, however, considered it arrogance on his part to enter the forest, and did not let him escape unpunished. After this bad beginning, Gośāla reflected that the gods had always averted calamities from Vīra, and he had profited from their protection. Whereupon he decided to find Vīra again. Nothing further is told of Gośāla's experiences during his separation from Vīra which lasted for six months. They met again at the beginning of the sixth rainy season, and Gośāla, 'delighted in his mind, daily served him as before.'

For the eight months between the sixth and seventh rainy seasons Gośāla and Vīra wandered in Magadha 'without calamity.' When they resumed their wandering after the seventh rainy season, Gośāla angered the people of two villages by his lewd conduct and was beaten. Some time later, he gratuit-



ously insulted a bride and groom whom he met on the road. Their attendants bound him and threw him in a bamboo thicket. He appealed to Vīra, but the Vyantara Siddhārtha again told him that it was his own fault. Through respect for the Lord, the men released him. There was a similar incident with the very next persons—some herdsmen—whom they met.

The eighth rainy season was passed in Rājagṛha, and then Vīra went again to the Mleccha country, accompanied by Gośāla, where he seems to have stayed through the ninth rainy season. It was after the ninth rainy season, as they were going from Siddhārtha to Kūrmagrāma, that the well-known incident of the sesame-shrub occurred.<sup>11</sup> Gośāla saw a stalk of sesame on the road, and asked Vīra whether it would perish or not. Vīra broke his silence, 'by the power of fate,' and replied that it would perish, and that later the seven flower-jīvas would become seven sesames in one pod. To prove his statement false, Gośāla dug up the stalk and threw it away. A clod of earth adhered to it and a shower of rain revived the stalk. A passing cow crushed it into the damp ground. It took root, new shoots appeared, and flowers began to grow. On the return journey from Kūrmagrāma to Siddhārtha, they saw the sesame-stalk again, and Gośāla pointed out that it had not perished as predicted. Vīra replied that it had. Gośāla tore open the pod and saw the seven sesames. He concluded that the same principle applied to all creatures, and this was the origin of his doctrine of reanimation.<sup>12</sup>

In the interval between the two conversations in regard to the sesame had occurred the incident which resulted in the final separation of Vīra and Gośāla. Gośāla had addressed insolent remarks to the Svāmin Vaiśikāyana. Exasperated at their repetition, the Svāmin finally lost patience and sent a hot-flash (tejoleśyā) against Gośāla. He ran to Vīra who sent forth a cold-flash that quenched the hot-flash and saved Gośāla. Gośāla enquired of Vīra how one acquired the power to make the hot-flash. Vīra explained that it was acquired by observing fasts of three days, and breaking them with only a handful of husked grain, and a handful of water. Persistence in this course for

<sup>11</sup> Sarga IV. 67.

<sup>12</sup> Sarga IV. 128.

six months would produce the power. Shortly after the conversation about the sesame, Gośāla left Vira and went to Śrāvastī to develop this psychic force. To test his power, he deliberately sought a quarrel with a slave-girl whom he successfully consumed with his hot-flash. Delighted with his success, he began to wander. His meeting with the six followers of Pārśva is mentioned immediately after this in the text, as if it happened very soon, though in the Bhagavatī it is put many years later. These six men renounced their vows and joined Gośāla. They were learned in the eight-fold mahānimitta doctrine<sup>13</sup> and explained it to him out of friendship. 'Friendship develops at once between men of the same character. Proud of his hot-flash and the eight-fold mahānimitta doctrine, he began to wander over the earth, saying, "I am a Jina."'<sup>14</sup>

We hear nothing further of Gośāla until near the end of Sarga VII, when he appears on the scene for a brief time, engaged in a dispute with Ārdraka, a follower of Vira. Gośāla upheld his doctrine of niyati (destiny), and Ārdraka maintained the superior power of puruṣa (manly action). Ārdraka was, of course, victorious in the argument. This was apparently many years after Gośāla had left Vira, for not long after is recorded<sup>15</sup> the meeting in Śrāvastī between Vira and Gośāla, which was seventeen years after their separation. Gośāla was already there, stopping in the shop of a potter-woman, Hālāhālā. He had gained favor with the people. 'Destroying obstacles by tejoleśyā, having knowledge of the eight-fold nimitta doctrine, he entered into the minds of the people. The simple-minded people hearing his declaration, thinking, "He is an Arhat," constantly approached and worshipped him.' After Vira's arrival, he sent Gautama into the city for alms. He heard people saying, 'Gośāla, the Omniscient, the Arhat, is here.' Disturbed by this report, Gautama told Vira that all the people were calling Gośāla 'omniscient.' 'Is this possible or not?' Vira replied, 'The son of a Mañkha, Mañkhali, not a Jina, though thinking himself a Jina, Gośāla is a house of deceit. Initiated by me, he received instruction from me. He acknowledged

<sup>13</sup> See Rockhill, L. B., p. 249, n. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Sarga IV. 137.

<sup>15</sup> Sarga VIII. 354 ff.

wrong belief to me. He is not omniscient.' This was said in the presence of others, so the matter was discussed by the citizens. Gośāla heard the words of Vīra quoted and 'surrounded by Ājīvikas, was filled with anger, like a black cobra.' Then Ānanda, a disciple of Vīra, entered the city for alms. Sitting in the house of Hālāhalā, Gośāla called Ānanda, and made threats against Vīra. 'Does he not know my tejoleśyā able to consume an enemy? I will make him and his followers a heap of ashes. I will save you alone.' And he illustrated with the story of the serpent that is in the Bhagavatī. Ānanda was so disturbed by these threats that he returned to Vīra without even waiting to obtain alms. 'This talk of Gośāla, "I will make him a heap of ashes," is it the talk of a crazy man, or is he really able to do this?' Vīra explained that Gośāla was really able to destroy any one except an Arhat. He could cause only discomfort to Arhats. Vīra gave instructions for his disciples not to annoy Gośāla, if he should come, but the warning was of no avail. Gośāla came to see Vīra and insolently denied that he was the son of Mañkhali, and his former disciple. He applied his theory of reanimation and claimed that he, a Rishi named Udāya, had entered Gośāla's body after he had died. Vīra refused to admit any such possibility, and Gośāla threatened him with destruction. Unable to endure his insolence, Sarvāna-bhuti reproached him for his denial of the Lord, and was instantly destroyed by Gośāla by his hot-flash. Elated over this proof of his power, Gośāla became even more insolent to Vīra and caused protests from another disciple whom he also destroyed. Finally, Gośāla directed his hot-flash against Vīra himself, but it made the pradakṣiṇā and rebounded against Gośāla. 'As if angered because he had used it for a crime, the tejoleśyā returned and forcibly entered the body of Gośāla.' Gośāla predicted that Vīra would die in six months from a bilious fever from the tejoleśyā, and Vīra made the counter prediction that he would wander as a Kevalin for sixteen years more, but that Gośāla would die from a bilious fever in seven days. Weak and burning, Gośāla returned to the potter-woman's house. There he drank liquor to soothe his burning. He covered his body with wet clay and rolled in water. He sang, danced, and made the añjali to the potter-woman. His talk was

disconnected and contradictory. One of his followers, Ayampula, came to enquire about a point that puzzled him, but when he saw Gośāla's condition he went away embarrassed. Gośāla's disciples then explained that these were the last song, dance, añjali, drink, anointing with clay, etc., and were a sign that Gośāla had attained nirvāṇa.<sup>16</sup> They persuaded Gośāla to put away the liquor, etc., to receive Ayampula, and to answer his question. Gośāla finally regained his senses and gave instructions that he should be buried with great honor as the twenty-fourth Arhat. On the seventh day he repented, summoned his disciples, and made a recantation. He reversed his funeral instructions, and ordered that he be buried with dishonor and with public proclamation of the facts. After his death, his disciples shut the doors, drew a map of Śrāvastī and used that for carrying out his instructions for a dishonorable burial. Then they held a very elaborate public funeral.

Notwithstanding his depravity narrated in such detail, Gośāla went to Acyuta (the twelfth heaven), because he had confessed.

In reply to Gautama's questions Vīra narrated Gośāla's past and future incarnations, but these are not relevant here.

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<sup>16</sup> These 'finalities' were incorporated into the Ājīvika doctrine.

## DID CAXTON TRANSLATE THE *DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE* OF BOETHIUS?

In the *Times Literary Supplement* (London, November 5, 1925) I find an article under 'Notes on Sales' entitled 'An Unrecorded Caxton,' which begins as follows: 'The discovery, or rather recovery, of an unrecorded copy of Caxton's "*De Consolacione Philosophie*," circa 1478, in the cellar of a house near Colchester, etc.' This is somewhat misleading, and it is only when we have read nearly half-way through the article that we find the sentence that sets us straight, provided that we do not overlook the little phrase, 'Eng. by Chaucer.' 'A hand-list of the books in the library [The Colchester Public Library] was printed in 1856, and is interesting as showing not only what it contained, but what books were then missing from its shelves. The "*Boethius de Consolatione*, Eng. by Chaucer, fo." almost certainly refers to the Caxton above mentioned.'

The last sentence is important because of the erroneous belief held in certain quarters that Caxton himself was a translator of *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. Did Caxton translate this work of Boethius? Dr. Bernard L. Jefferson in the Preface<sup>1</sup> to his *Chaucer and the Consolation of Philosophy of Boethius* (Princeton dissertation, 1917) asserts:

Throughout the Middle Ages this was his [Boethius'] most popular work, and it was translated into almost every European language. Its translators in English, besides Chaucer, include King Alfred, Caxton, and Queen Elisabeth.

Dr. Jefferson's unequivocal statement that Caxton is one of the English translators of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* led me to make a search for the probable source of his error. I surmise that it lies in the ambiguous words of Richard Morris in his edition of *Chaucer's Translation of Boethius' 'De Consolatione Philosophiae'* (London, 1868), page 1:

For, indeed, the echoes of Boethius, Boethius, rang out loud from

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<sup>1</sup> See page iv.

every corner of European literature. An Alfred awoke them in England, a Chaucer, a Caxton would not let them die; an Elizabeth revived them among the glorious music of her reign.<sup>2</sup>

Morris may have known that Caxton did not translate *De Consolatione Philosophiae*—that he simply printed Chaucer's translation; but when we consider the note in which he names such other translators as were known to him, it would appear that he thought of Caxton also as a translator.

Yet Caroline Pemberton, editor of *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings* (London, 1899), offers another possible source for Dr. Jefferson's error. In the Forewords, page xii, of her work, Miss Pemberton says:

The *Consolation of Philosophy* was a very favorite book during the Middle Ages, it being read not only in Latin but also in various translations. It was first done into English by King Alfred, and he was followed by Chaucer, Caxton, Queen Elizabeth, and many other translators of minor note.

It is not easy to account for these errors. If the *Consolation* as printed by Caxton is rare,<sup>3</sup> it has received notice enough to inform us of its nature. As early as December, 1849 (18 years before Morris edited his version of Chaucer's translation), I find in *Notes and Queries* 1. 126 an article quoting Thorpe's interesting description of the work:<sup>4</sup>

3450. Boecius de Consolacione Philosophie. Translated out of Latyn into English by Maister Geffrey Chaucer, with Epitaph for Chaucer in Latin Verse by Stephen Surigo, Poet Laureate of Milan, at the cost and instance of W. Caxton, a most beautiful and quite perfect copy, without the slightest defect or repair, folio, in old Oxford calf

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<sup>2</sup> I abridge the footnote of Morris: 'Other translations are by John Walton of Osney, in verse, in 1410 . . . first printed at Tavistock in 1525. . . . An anonymous prose version in the Bodleian. George Coluile, alias Coldewel, 1556; J. T. 1609; H. Conningesbye, 1664; Lord Preston, 1695, 1712; W. Causton, 1730; Redpath, 1785; R. Duncan, 1789; anon. 1792 (Lowndes).'

<sup>3</sup> 'There are three copies of this book in the British Museum, one at Cambridge, two at the Bodleian, one at Exeter and one at Magdalen College, Oxford; one at Ripon Minster, one at Sion College, London, and six in private hands.' See William Blades, *The Biography and Typography of William Caxton*, p. 215. New York, 1882.

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogue of some Interesting, Rare, and Choice Books.*



binding, from Browne Willis's Library, £ 105. Printed by Caxton, with his name.

A more detailed description occurs in the *Biography and Typography of William Caxton, England's First Printer* by William Blades (New York, 1882), pages 213-15.

But there is nothing better to make clear Caxton's position with respect to the *Consolation* of Boethius than Caxton's Epilogue to his edition of Chaucer's translation, for there we find his own account of what he did and why he did it. His admiration of the *Consolation* and his praise of Chaucer in making the translation are sincere :

Thus endeth this book, which is named "The Book of Consolation of Philosophy," which that Boecius made for his comfort and consolation, he being in exile for the common and public weal, having great heaviness and thoughtes, and in manner of despair, rehearsing in the said book how Philosophy appeared to him shewing the mutability of this transitory life, and also informing how fortune and hap should be understood, with the predestination and prescience of God as much as may and is possible to be known naturally, as afore is said in this said book. Which Boecius was an excellent author of divers books, craftily and curiously made in prose and metre; and also had translated divers books out of Greek into Latin, and had been senator of that noble and famous city Rome; and also his two sons senators for their prudence and wisdom. And forasmuch as he withstood to his power the tyranny of Theodoric, then Emperor, and would have defended the said city and senate from his wicked hands, whereupon he was convicted and put in prison; in which prison he made this foresaid book of consolation for his singular comfort. And forasmuch as the style of it is hard and difficult to be understood of simple persons, therefore the worshipful father and first founder and embellisher of ornate eloquence in our English, I mean Master Geoffrey Chaucer, hath translated this said work out of Latin into our usual and mother tongue, following the Latin as nigh as is possible to be understood; wherein in mine opinion he hath deserved a perpetual laud and thank of all this noble royaume of England, and especially of them that shall read and understand it. For in the said book they may see what this transitory and mutable world is, and whereto every man living in it ought to intend. Then forasmuch as this said book so translated is rare and not spread ne known as it is digne and worthy, for the erudition and learning as such as be ignorant and not knowing of it, at request of a singular friend and gossip of mine, I, William Caxton, have done my devoir and pain to imprint it in form as is here afore made; in hoping that it shall profit much people to the weal and health of their souls, and for to learn to have and keep the better

patience in adversities. And furthermore I desire and require you that of your charity ye would pray for the soul of the said worshipful man Geoffrey Chaucer, first translator of this said book into English, and embellisher in making the said language ornate and fair, which shall endure perpetually; and therefore he ought eternally to be remembered, of whom the body and corpse lieth buried in the Abbey of Westminster beside London, to-fore the chapel of Saint Benedict, by whose sepulchre is written on a table hanging on a pillar his Epitaph, made by a Poet Laureate, whereof the copy followeth.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Pollard, A. W., *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, pp. 222-3. Westminster, 1903.

## REPORTS.

PHILOLOGUS LXXIX (N. F. XXXIII) 1924.

Pp. 1-50. Th. Birt, Beiträge zum Verständnis der Oden des Horaz. The odes considered are numbers 1, 2, 8, 12, 32 of the first book. The comments deal with the dedications of the poems, their intention, date, language, spelling, and general interpretation. Some textual changes are suggested, e. g. I, 1, 4, collegisse iuvat, meta *ubi* fervidis; I, 2, 21, audiet cives *satiassse* ferrum; I, 32, 15, dulce lenimen, mihi *iuncta* salve. Parallel passages are cited from other authors to confirm many of the interpretations suggested.

Pp. 51-69. N. Wecklein, Die Antiope des Euripides. A discussion of the Antiope legend, and a suggested reconstruction of the play according to the fragments gathered from various sources. Particular mention is made of the papyrus fragment discovered by Flinders Petrie and published in Cunningham Memoirs, No. VIII (1891).

Pp. 70-111. E. Bornemann, Aristoteles' Urteil über Platons politische Theorie. The criticism of Plato's theory of the state found in Aristotle's Politika is most important. Great care must be taken to set forth the text in question minutely and to interpret it accurately. There follows then a translation of Aristotle's Politika 1260b 27-1264b 41; 1290b 38-1291a 33; 1315b 40-1316b 27. After the translation comes a series of exhaustive notes and explanations of the translation. The article is continued on a later page.

P. 112. Miscelle, 1. Karl Rupprecht, Empedocles fr. 133. Instead of *τε μέγιστη* we should read *τ' ἐλαχίστη*. Cf. Lucretius V, 102-3, via qua munita fidei | proxima.

Pp. 113-158. E. Bornemann, Aristoteles' Urteil über Platons politische Theorie. Continuation of the previous article, pp. 70-111. There is given a connected exposition of Aristotle's thought as developed in the preceding translation, and an examination of its correctness. In places Aristotle has misunderstood or misinterpreted Plato. The article is continued on a later page.

Pp. 159-187. Hugo Magnus, Neue Bruchstücke einer Ovidhandschrift. The article deals with the remains of a hitherto unknown manuscript of the Metamorphoses, which belongs to the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century. A collation of the new manuscript *ρ* with the author's edition of the Metamorphoses (Weidmann 1914) is given. Ms. *ρ* is a vul-

gate manuscript which belongs to Class X, and has hitherto been employed by no editor. The new manuscript agrees generally with the others of its class. It is valuable for the interpretation of Ovid as well as for ascertaining the state of Ovidian study about the year 1300.

Pp. 188-200. Karl Prinz, Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung der Achilleis des Statius. A series of notes to elucidate vexed passages in Book I of the Achilleis. The notes are based on the critical edition of A. Klotz (Leipzig, 1902) and the commentary of Brinkgreve (Rotterdam, 1913).

Pp. 201-221. Rudolf Wagner, Der Oxyrhynchos-Notenpapyrus. Volume XV of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (ed. Grenfell-Hunt, 1922) contains in No. 1786 a valuable contribution to our knowledge of ancient music, a Christian hymn with the corresponding notes. The writing shows the hymn to belong to the closing decades of the third century. The present article discusses the text, notation, rhythm and metre of the fragment, and gives some observations on its aesthetic value and its place in musical history. The composition shows the hand of an artist. The harmony is diatonic, the chromatic scale is not used. Two plates are appended, giving the hymn in modern notation.

Pp. 222-224. Miscellen. 2. H. Lehmann, Zu Petrons Cena Trimalchionis. It is clear that *oclopeta* (Petr. 35, 9) is a mistake. In Marcellus, *Ἱατρικὰ περὶ ἰχθύων*, p. 134, l. 17 (Physici et medici Graeci minores, vol. I) is mentioned *ὠκνέτεια χελιδών* = a flying fish the color of a swallow. *ὠκνέτεια* is a poetic form of *ὠκνέτης*, and the Romans may have latinized the word into *ocypeta* or *ocipeta* on the analogy of *poeta* from *ποιητής*. 3. pp. 222-224, Walter Anderson, Die Meleagrossage bei den Letten. Evidence to show the existence of the Meleager story among the Letts. 4. p. 224, W. Ensslin, Zu Appian b. c. I 94, 434 ed. Viereck. Viereck was mistaken in deleting the name of Norbanus from the passage in question.

Pp. 225-233. E. Kapp, Sokrates der Jüngere. In the three lives of Aristotle collected in Valentin Rose's edition of the Fragments (1886) it is stated that at the age of 17 Aristotle was in Athens, and became the pupil of Socrates just before his association with Plato began. This must have been Socrates the Younger who is mentioned both by Plato and by Aristotle. A discussion is given of the import of Aristotle's mention of the younger Socrates, *Metaphysics* 1036b 24.

Pp. 234-257. E. Bornemann, Aristoteles' Urteil über Platons politische Theorie. Conclusion of the article. The critique of the Laws is considered here. A translation is given of *Politika* 1265a 1-1266a 30, followed by explanatory notes and a summary

of the points involved. Some observations on Aristotle's personality are given, and special attention is directed to his strong belief in private property.

Pp. 258-297. H. Bogner, Kaiser Julians 5. Rede. The oration is to be interpreted as a piece of pagan gnosticism.

Pp. 298-312. Oskar Viedebanтт, Metrologica. Before the adoption of the Athenian standard the system of coinage that was in vogue at Corinth had for its unit a stater of 8.25 grams, the hundredth part of a Sidonian mina. Thirds of staters, too, were issued, and ten of these weighed one Sidonian shekel (27.5 grams). Besides the regular stater there was also a colonial or trade stater of 13.3 grams (= Tyrian shekel), and as a fractional part of this the half-stater was used. The Athenian drachma (4.29 grams), or half-stater, was the hundredth part of a slightly augmented Tyrian mina. Previous computations of the βασιλῆος πῆχυν and the μέτριος πῆχυν (Herodotus I 178) as approximately 50 cm. and 44 cm., respectively, are confirmed by calculations based upon data found in Herodotus I 50.

Pp. 313-322. Miscellen. 5. W. Schmid, Vergilius Catalepton 5. 7. A suggested re-grouping of the verses to clear up both text and interpretation. 6. pp. 317-322. Schwierczina, Coniectanea in Frontonem. Fifteen suggested emendations. 7. pp. 322. Hermann Kirchner, Dikaiarchos über Anziehung? The supposition that Dikaiarchus first advanced the theory of the sun's attraction on the earth is probably wrong. A plausible restoration of the text (Doxogr. Gr. 382b 12D) assigns the theory to Euenius.

Pp. 323-354. Thea Stifler, Das Wernickesche Gesetz und die bukolische Dihärese. Wernicke's 'law' has no justification, for at the end of the fourth foot of the Homeric hexameter there is no conscious avoidance of a final syllable that is long by position, and in post-Homeric epic poetry, except where there is imitation of Homeric technique, the spondaic fourth foot is rejected altogether.

Pp. 355-369. E. Bickel, Neupythagoreische Kosmologie bei den Römern. Examination of Pliny, Natural History, II 1 ff., and of Manilius I 515 ff. Pythagorean doctrine not necessarily derived from Posidonius is shown, and even un-Posidonian doctrine in Pliny is pointed out.

Pp. 370-433. Otto Crusius (†) and Rudolf Herzog, Der Traum des Herondas. A critical edition of the text of the eighth mime, preceded by Crusius' introduction and followed by Herzog's commentary and explanations. The relations of Herondas to his contemporaries are fully discussed.

P. 433. Miscelle, 8. Ludwig Gurlitt, Testamentum Porcelli. Cf. Buecheler-Heraeus, Petronii Saturae et liber Priapeorum, Berlin 1912, p. 269. *Pictoribus capillinas* is to be read for *rixoribus capitinas*. The *isiciarii* mentioned are a special kind of butcher.

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RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOLOGIE, N. F. 73. Band, Heft 3 u. 4.<sup>1</sup>

Pp. 243-272. W. Kroll, Quintilianstudien. This important article consists of three sections: the first (pp. 243-60) deals with the chapter on Synthesis (IX 4); the second (pp. 261-69), with the chapter on the Prepon (XI 1); and the third (pp. 269-72), with the chapter on Actio (XI 3). The author analyzes the chapters, points out Quintilian's real or probable sources, adduces parallel passages from other authors, and presents a few critical notes.

Pp. 273-289. Erich Preuner, Aus Heinrich Nicolaus Ulrichs' Nachlass. Twenty epigraphic notes based on the posthumous papers of H. N. Ulrichs († 1843). The notes, embodying commentary, corrections, restorations and new inscriptions, affect IG IV, V 1, VII, VIII, IX 1, XII 8 and XII 9.

Pp. 290-305. O. Hense, Zu Antipatros von Tarsos. Discussion of several fragments belonging to Antipater of Tarsos or claimed for this author by Hense: Athen. 346 c, 643 f; Philodemus *περὶ ὀργῆς*, col. xxxiii 28 ff.; Stobaeus IV 22, 25 (67, 25 M.); 22, 103 (70, 13 M.). Incidentally, a section is devoted to the *Charites* of Meleager.

Pp. 306-23. Th. Birt, Eine Siegesinschrift und geographische Karte des Tuditanus. (Mit einem Anhang zu Livius V 16.) Birt makes it appear probable that in Plin. N. H. III 129, Tuditanus, qui domuit Histros, in statua sua ibi inscripsit, *statua* should be changed into *tabula*. It would follow that Tuditanus was the author of a map of Istria, and that the passage from Pliny should not be used—as has been done by E. Reisch—to restore CIL I<sup>2</sup>, No. 652, an inscription that commemorates the victory of Tuditanus in 129 B. C. Birt is satisfied with neither Bücheler's nor Reisch's restoration of the

<sup>1</sup> For the contents of Heft 1-2 of the Rh. Mus., see AJP. XLII 348-53. The delay of the present report is due to the temporary suspension of publication of the Rh. Mus., for which see pp. 371-72 of the following account.



IS, but proposes and defends a restoration of his own. An appendix shows how, by a few eliminations, the text of the oracle in Livy V 16, 9 may be reduced to Saturnians.

Pp. 324-42. H. Kallenberg, Bausteine für eine historische Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. 5. Deklination von *δύο*. Statistics on the use of the forms of *δύο* from Homer to Byzantine Greek. In the classic period *δυοῖν* is used as Genitive and Dative. In the Hellenistic period *δυοῖν* passed into the form *δυσῖν* and with few exceptions was restricted to the genitive, whilst *δυσί* forced its way into the dative. Popular Greek retained *δυσί* but, dropping the dual number, discarded therewith the form *δυοῖν* (*δυσῖν*). The Atticists of the second century of our era, as also later Procopius and Agathias, took up again the use of *δυοῖν*, but, for the most part, rejected *δυσί*. Side by side with the declensional forms, undeclined *δύο* was used in all periods of the language.

Pp. 343-49. U. Hofer, Zu alten Geographen. 1. In Pomponius Mela 1, 2 alias . . . nunc = modo . . . modo. The notion that Mela intended to write a fuller treatise must be given up. 2. Emendations of Ps.-Skymnos (Müller), 776. 3. Justification of the statement of Ps.-Skymnos, 161 f. 4. Publication of a suggestion of A. v. Gutschmid to change *ἀνέμων* to *νομίμων* in Agatharchides apud Phot. bibl. cod. 213, p. 171 a Bekk.

Pp. 350-358. Carl Clemen, Zu Firmicus Maternus. The author endeavors to explain more satisfactorily several passages that deal with various religious mysteries.

Pp. 359-70. Miszellen. H. Kallenberg (359-362) points out a number of small interpolations in the text of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. A. Debrunner (362-66) interprets *αἱ δὲ ὁ Αἰθαλεὺς σπαρτός ἐκόσμων οἱ σὺν Κύλλοι* (Gortynian law, Collitz-Bechtel 4991) as "since the year in which Kylos and his associates of the *Αἰθαλεὺς σπαρτός* were *kosmiontes*." Eduard Fraenkel (366-370) presents interesting observations on the stylistic form of *αἶνοι*.

Portrait of A. Brinkmann facing page 371.

Pp. 371-72. The new editor of the Rheinisches Museum, F. Marx, and the publisher, J. D. Sauerländer, present a statement of the causes that led to the four years' suspension of publication of the periodical, and give a brief appreciation of the services of the former editor, A. Brinkmann, who died on July 28, 1923.

Pp. 373-401. August Brinkmann (†), Die Meteorologie Arrians (edited and supplemented by Hans Herter). Stobaeus

has preserved three fairly extensive meteorological fragments attributed to a certain Arrian. This Arrian is commonly believed to have been a writer of about the beginning of the second century B. C. Brinkmann thinks that this view is based on a misunderstanding and believes that the writer in question is identical with Arrian of Nicomedia of the second century of our era. The identity is shown by a detailed comparison of the vocabulary, forms, syntax, and style of the fragments with the same features of the acknowledged works of Arrian.

Pp. 402-25. Ernst Howald, *Meleager und Achill*. The article is a contribution to the solution of the Homeric question. Starting with an idea of Finsler's, Howald endeavors to show that the *Iliad* was modeled after the epos on the wrath of Meleager. But unlike the wrath of Meleager, the quarrel of Achilles with Agamemnon had no organic connection with the death of Achilles and so eventually the portion of the poem on the Death of Achilles got separated from the *μῆνις* and perished. There were many *aristeiai*, but the *aristeia* of Achilles was the only one that was capable of being developed into the *Iliad*. The process of evolution was about as follows. The *Achilleis* at first underwent a slight expansion. Then a great poet composed and added to it a poem on the Death of Patroclus. Next came Homer, who gave the *Achilleis* its present beginning, wove into its texture the *Patrokleia* and other *aristeiai* and lays. Even after Homer additions continued to be made and portions of the poem were worked over, until, finally, impersonal artistic creation ceased and the *Iliad* became a great model epic. Thereafter other epics were patterned after it.

Pp. 426-33. E. Schwyzer, *Zu griechischen Inschriften* (continued from *Rh. Mus.* LXX 426 ff.). 5. Zu den Defixionen von Selinunt. 6. Zur grossen Inschrift des pelasgiotischen Larisa. 7. Zum delphischen Phaselitenstein. These notes were sent to Brinkmann in 1920 and since then the results have been incorporated in the author's new edition of Cauer's *Delectus*, Nos. 167 a, 322 (w. supplement pp. 461 sq.) and 590.

Pp. 434-48. Hermann Schoene, *Hippokrates Περὶ φαρμάκων*. Edition in parallel columns of the Greek text (based on the author's own transcription from the Codex Urb. gr. 64) and the 1515 Leyden Latin translation of the fragmentary treatise *περὶ φαρμάκων*, with critical commentary. The text is preceded by observations on early publications of the Greek text and of Latin translations of it, and is followed by a discussion containing parallel references to other works.

Pp. 449-55. L. Radermacher, *Eustathius von Antiochien, Platon und Sophokles*. On the basis of passages in Eustathius

*apud* Klostermann in Lietzmann's "Kleine Texte, etc.," the author concludes that καὶ should be struck out in Plato, *Republic*, 364 B, ἀγύρται δὲ καὶ μάντις; that in Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 883, κάμπνέοντ' stands for καὶ ἐμπνέοντ' (not καὶ ἀμπνέοντ'); that in *Trachiniae* 335, ἐμμείνας' of *Parisinus* A should be restored for ἀμμείνας' of the *Laurentianus*; and that in *Philoctetes* 450, ἀποστέλλουσ' should be retained.

Pp. 456-65. Antonius Funck, *De Euclione Plautino*. The author maintains, against Klingelhöffer, Bonnet and Leo, that Euclio was really a miser, and not simply a poor citizen who pretends to be poorer than he really is for fear that some one might suspect him of harboring the treasure.

Pp. 466-82. Friedrich Wilhelm, *Plutarchos Περὶ ἡσυχίας*. Translation, with critical notes, and detailed study of this fragment, which has been preserved by Stobaeus IV 16, 18, pp. 398 f. H.

P. 482. Fridericus Marx, *Critica Hermeneutica*. Notes on Diphilus, fr. 42 K., *Porphyr. de abstin.* IV 8, and *CIL* XIII 705.

Pp. 483-87. Index.

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## REVIEWS.

*Festskrift til Amund B. Larsen paa Hans 75-Aars Fødselsdag, 15 Desember 1924.* Kristiania, H. Aschehoug & Co., 1924. Pp. 246.

A number of colleagues and former students of Dr. Amund B. Larsen have joined in presenting him with this anniversary volume of investigations in Norwegian dialects and general linguistics on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday. It is a volume of very solid content, which every worker in these departments of study will surely wish to possess. There are sixteen articles by Norwegian scholars, one by a Danish, and one by a Swedish scholar. As already indicated, problems that concern themselves with the present dialects of Norway occupy a large place in these investigations, but most of these also have an interest that reaches beyond the region immediately considered. Other articles consider questions in Old Norse phonology, general Scandinavian linguistics, and Primitive Germanic.

Professor Magnus Olsen discusses grammatical and logical gender in east and south Norwegian city dialects, considering mainly Arendal (pp. 73-81). He treats the def. pl. form of masculine and feminine nouns whose indefinite plural have no ending, because the majority of them are words designating quantity or material. For example, *en kål*, which by analogy to the class of nouns to which it belongs should in the pl. be (to) *kåler*, def. *kålene*; but one says instead (to) *kål*, *kålene*, as *de kålene jeg kjøpte var bedærvet*. That is, when one wishes to convey the idea of quantity and not that of individual objects, the neuter invariable plural and simple accent replaces the usual plural endings and the compound accent; it goes like *hus-húsa*. The writer has found this principle operating even in such a case as *de fire mánna* (p. 80).<sup>1</sup> But the words exhibit also the usual individualizing plural, as *de kålene*, *de skålene*, when that meaning is intended to be conveyed. It is of exceeding interest that, on the other hand, neuters, contrary to their usual declension, may assume the individualizing compound accent and common gender ending when individualization is desired (p. 81).

Mr. M. Berntzen gives an account of the remains of *u-* and *w-*umlaut of *a* in the Stavanger dialect (pp. 150-155). As we should expect it to be in this southwest Norwegian city, the re-

<sup>1</sup> 'The four men.'

tention of this umlaut form is abundantly evidenced, but the influence of standard speech in the city dialect is very important here as elsewhere in Norway, and we find that the umlaut forms are far less numerous in Stavanger than in the country around it. However, Stavanger uses such a form as *nått*, pl. *netter*, and in compounds as *nåttøvakt*, 'nightwatch,' *nåttøvågin*, by the side of *nattaro*, 'piece at night,' and other similar cases (*hårv*, 'harrow,' *tånn*, 'tooth'), where in cities farther east the standard (Riksmål) form would be used. There is, then, considerable conservatism upon this point in Stavanger.

In these and other matters we shall find conditions to be quite different if we turn to a dialect of southeastern Norway. Of such a one Mr. Trygve Knudsen gives us an interesting historical and descriptive survey in an article entitled "Om Tønsberg Bymål," pp. 130-142. Tønsberg is situated south of Oslo on the west side of Oslo Bay and like all town dialects in that region has in the last half-century undergone extensive modernizing under the influence of the literary language and the cultured speech of the capitol. To take the example of a single word: the negative *inte* of the Tønsberg region, which long ago yielded to *ikke* in the upper stratum of speech in the city of Tønsberg, has now practically been replaced by *ikke* also in the lower strata. This particular instance the writer attributes to the influence of reading and of the schools. As an example of a relatively recent change away from the historically correct local forms I shall take the present equivalent of words with original *rn*, as standard *bjørn*, 'bear,' and *horn*, 'horn,' Old Norse *biörn*, and *horn*. In Oslo and in cultivated Norwegian these are now pronounced *bjørn* and *horn*, and it is this in Tønsberg. But the east Norwegian equivalent of ON. *rn* is now *nn* (*dn* in western Norway, and *rn*, *rrn* in Troms of northern Norway). In Vestfold in general and in the dialects around Tønsberg *n* or *nn* prevails<sup>2</sup> so that one says *bân* for *barn* and *kvân* for *kvarn*, but also in some words *rn*, as *garn*, by the side of *gân*, for *garn*, 'yarn.' I do not know the date of Ross's investigation of the dialect, but in 1882, according to Professor Storm's word-lists, the *rn* and the *nn* forms are found side by side in Vestfold.<sup>3</sup> Dr. A. B. Larsen is surely right when he held in 1898 that when *rn* is found in southeastern Norway in the speech of the cities it is there by influence of the literary language. Now in the present city dialect of Tønsberg *-rn* is well-nigh universal (Knudsen, p. 137). It sounds a bit strange, however, when he describes the situation as follows: "Støttet til dannet dagligtale og skriftsprog har *rn* holdt sig (som supra-

<sup>2</sup> H. Ross, *Norske Bygdemål*, VII. *Foldamål*, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Skulerud in the present *Festskrift*, p. 41.



dental *rn*) utenfor noen få ord som fra bysprogs standpunkt må regnes for indførte lånord, således *bjønn*, *binna*. Ellers *bårn* . . . *körn*, *hörn*, *kværn*, *jærn*." As the *nn* forms have not been adopted by those whose natural forms have *rn*, but vice versa, one can hardly call the cited instances loanwords 'from the standpoint of city speech' even.

Another example of the disappearance of the local vernacular for standard speech is that of the condition in the diphthongs, but here it does not seem to me that we necessarily have to do with the influence of standard speech, local tendencies all through southeastern Norway have, since late Old Norse times, been in that direction, in varying degrees in the different parts of the region. In this matter it is interesting to see that whereas in the surrounding dialects a diphthong is simplified before a consonant combination resulting from the addition of an inflexional ending, Tønsberg is here more conservative than the country around, as when *bläut*, 'soft,' neuter *blött*, *græi*, 'clear, frank,' neuter, *grëtt*, is in Tønsberg, *bläut-blött*, and *græi-græit*. Finally I shall mention the levelling of the stem vowel of the pp<sup>rtc</sup>. of strong verbs to that of the infinitive, as *finna-fönni* (ON. *funnit*) to *finna-finni*, *væra-vöri* to *væra-væri*. This is fully established. But right here again city dialectal development has influenced usage, so that the neuter strong pp<sup>rtc</sup>. form is giving place to the weak form in *-t*, as *væra-vært*, and in such verbs as *dra*, 'draw,' *dratt*, and *dradd* (it is no longer *dra-dr'i*). Knudsen's survey of Tønsberg speech is especially welcome at this time, for there have been but few monographs published on southeast Norwegian.

Didrik Arup Seip writes on the assimilation *kn* > *nn*, and *tn* > *nn* (as *vatn* > *vann*, *botn* > *bonn*) in the dialects of the southern coast regions, showing the presence of this phenomenon already in early Middle Norwegian times, pp. 169-185, and Gustav Indrebø discusses the loss of the plural of verbs in xiv<sup>th</sup> century Norwegian, pp. 106-114. Torleiv Hannaas gives an interesting account of work on Norwegian dialects before Ivar Aasen, pp. 87-105; it is well known that there were many who collected dialect words and wrote about the local vernaculars in Norway in the xvi<sup>th</sup> and xvii<sup>th</sup> centuries, but these pages add much new and valuable information. Another article in the *Festskrift* deals with one such collection: "En ordsamling mellem Gunnerus' papirer," by Ragnvald Iversen, pp. 190-200. The words here contained are mostly from northern Norway; Iversen offers an introductory account of the contents, and publishes a selection of ca. 150. There is no etymological discussion, merely the words of the original collector; I shall take the liberty, however, to add in regard to that strange term *haargje*, 'violin,' a reference here to a recent explanation of this word



by Otto Anderson on pp. 209-210 of his *Stråkharpn. En studie i nordisk instrumenthistoria*. Helsingfors, 1923. He explains it as a violin with strings of hair and compares *tagelharpe*, Finnish *jouhikantele*. This is surely correct.

On the subject of musical accent there is a study by Vilhelm Riksheim who deals with this as found in the Vefsen dialect in northern Norway, pp. 213-223. The unrounding of vowels in the dialects of Trondhjem Province by Jørgen Reitan must be briefly noted, pp. 201-212. The delabialization of *y* and *ø* is a phenomenon that is well known in linguistic history, but it is peculiarly characteristic of East Norwegian, as the author notes, p. 201, to which may be added that the unrounding of *y* is extensively evidenced in western Norway, but in a somewhat different form than in the North. Mr. Reitan limits his study to the stressed position, finds that the change under discussion has geographically much wider scope in the case of *ø* than in that of *y*, and the influence is usually a following *l* or *r*. It reaches its most pronounced form in Selbu, as in the words *där* for 'dør,' *gälv* for 'golv,' and *fälk* for 'folk.' The resulting vowel varies, from a half unrounded one to one with passive position, but in the examples from Selbu the unrounding has gone beyond the passive lip position to one in which the lips are drawn back slightly.

Of exceeding importance is Prof. Jakob Sverdrup's study of IdE. *\*bh*, *\*dh*, *\*gh*, in the earliest Germanic, pp. 224-232. The longest article in the volume deals with the MSS left by Johan Storm, in so far as they concern themselves with Norwegian dialects; an account of the 121 titles is offered by Olai Skulerud, together with the phonology and forms of *a*, Vestfold, and *b*, Lower Buskerud-Oslo, on the basis of the Storm collections, pp. 1-73. Johan Storm, throughout most of his long academic career was Professor of English and Romance Philology in Christiania University, but he took great interest in research in this field and became in 1882 the founder of the Norwegian Dialect and Folklore Society. Some of the materials he left have already been published by Dr. Skulerud in the transactions of the Christiania Scientific Society, series II, 1919.

There is, naturally, no account of Dr. A. B. Larsen's own extensive contributions to this field, but the evidence of the profound importance of his work, and the recognition of his leadership for a generation and more is evidenced throughout the volume in the many references to his writings and his views. We are, however, given by Professor Sigurd Kolsrud a list of Larsen's publications and his journeys of investigation, which began in 1882 with a visit to Solør, then continued several months, almost every year for forty years, south, east, north and west, and closes in 1924 again with Solør. In a letter to me

from Dr. Larsen, of date Jan. 13, last, it appears that he regards his work, *Sognemålene*, 1921-1925, as probably his last. But it is sincerely hoped that he will still be able to publish some parts of the material in his extensive collections.

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M. Tulli Ciceronis De Finibus bonorum et malorum. Libri I-II. Edited by J. S. Reid, Litt. D. Cambridge, *At the University Press*, 1925. 238 pp. 8°. 16 sh.

Every classical scholar, I dare say, knows something of Madvig's edition of the De Finibus (first edition, Copenhagen 1839; second ed., Copenhagen 1869). Editions of the classics are not as perennial as the texts themselves: Bentley's Horace, Munro's Lucretius, J. B. Mayor's Juvenal, Conington-Nettle-ship's Vergil, Schoemann's De Deorum Natura, to which we may add Orelli's Onomasticon, or perhaps A. C. Clark's Asconius—these seem to defy time itself, the πανδαμάτωρ. If I may be permitted to say so, I do not hesitate to rank Reid's De Finibus with these. As for the great Danish Ciceronian, he will not suffer by comparison with Reid, even now, and vice versa; the reader will rise from the comparative study of the two with a feeling of their rare excellence and eminence, exceeding one's sanguine expectations.

It is fully forty years ago (1885) since Dr. Reid published M. Tulli Ciceronis Academica, The text revised and explained, London, Macmillan, Printed at the Cambridge University Press. For the preface of that edition Dr. Reid said, *inter alia*: "While I have tried in the first place to bring my own reading of the ancient authors to bear on the elucidation of Cicero's work, I have not neglected such modern aids to its study as it seemed of importance to consult." Modest and true words, the very model for that kind of work. And we understand that the Cambridge Ciceronian has pursued his task of the *De Finibus*, off and on, from 1885 to 1925. Of course, there are no aids for parsing and translation, nor other elementary features; but anything and everything that could illumine or elucidate Cicero's text, seems to have been closely studied, weighed and valued; never mechanically appropriated or superciliously rejected. Naturally, Madvig figures more largely than any other scholar. For convenience sake my citations are, throughout, from Reid's pages: 13, 14, 15, 18, 23, 47, 51, 53, 69, 92, 100, 117, 153, 156, etc.; but if the present student desires to test Dr. Reid's faculties at their best, where Reid is able to correct, modify, reduce or

expand the commentary of the great Danish scholar, I would beg to refer the reader particularly to pp. 39, 43, 49, 56, 57, 69, 71 (a great excursus there), 109, 147, 163. We realize that the copyists of MSS often were not Latin scholars at all, but mechanical transcribers; and, least of all, were they conversant with delicate points of Ciceronian idiom (see esp. p. 215).

With the utmost liberality of appreciation, Dr. Reid avails himself of every aid for parallels or elucidation: Naegelsbach's *Stylistik*, Schmalz, Draeger's *Hist. Syntax*, Kühner, Neue-Wagener, Wilkins' ed. of *De Oratore*, Sandys's *Orator*, Marx's *Ad Herennium*, Woelfflin's *Archiv* (passim), Otto's *Lateinische Sprichwörter*, monographs in *Hermes*, *Philologus*, *Rh. Mus.*, *Mnemosyne* (de Boot, p. 193), Tyrrell and Purser's *Cicero's Correspondence* (153, 170). Of course, Reid's work has been vastly aided by Merguet's *Concordance*. But even so there is a wealth of delicate discussion; e. g. on *quasi vero* (p. 112), *quaeso* (54), *posse se vivere* (163), *callido improbo* (167), *amplus* (180), esp. on *barones* (187), on *quoque* (214), *aerumna* (221), *dictata* (203), *disperxit* (205), *avere* (160), *quarum potiendi spe* (87).

One realizes that Cicero, hampered by the *egestas* (to which Lucretius referred), was incessantly compelled to coin new words. We note here: *infinitio*, *consecutio*, *allevatio*, *praeceptrix*, *perfunctio*, *effectrix*, *patefactio*, *restitutio*, *depulsio*, *architectari*, *conservatio*, *contemptio*.

All this work is of the finest; but as a student of Greek philosophy I value even more the extraordinary industry of Dr. Reid on the material side. I mean the study of Epicurean Hedonism (as compared with the Stoic *καθήκον*, *officium*) from Democritus to Epicurus and so down to the devout Latinizer of the same, Lucretius, whom Cicero, after the single reference in his correspondence, never mentions by name. Munro's notes, of course, are often cited by Reid. Diogenes Laertius, B. X, is obviously the largest quarry. Plutarch's *Adversus Coloten* and *Non posse suaviter vivi* are often referred to, but Reid also ascends to Plato (Phaedrus, Timaeus, Republic, "letter to Archytas") and Aristotle's *Ethics*, and descends to Lactantius, Porphyry (ad Marcellam, de Abst.), Augustine (De Civitate Dei), Ausonius' Cento from Vergil. The epigram of Sardanapalus (211 sq.), and, of course, Philodemus, and Scott's edition of the Herculanean Scrolls, and Clem. Alex. Stromateis are mentioned. Usener's *Epicurea* naturally figure much, and Gomperz is repeatedly cited. Throughout Dr. Reid takes great pains to present the Greek equivalents or originals of Cicero's exposition, as, e. g. *δίνη* (31), *δείκελα* and *ἀπειρία* (33), the *αἰρετά* and *φευκτά* (36), *κορυφαῖος* (42), *αὐτοδύγητος ἐρμηνεία* (45), *ἀδιάστροφα* (46), *προσκρούειν aspernari* (46), *ἐμφυτος insitus* (49), *ἐπιβολή τῆς*

διανοίας (5), διαστάμηνσις (51), ἀπονία (59), γαργαρισμός (61), ὀρμή (66), τέλος (66), οἷσις (69), γαλήνη (70), ἀταραξία, ἀθαμβία (76), καθῆκον (107), ἀπάθεια indolentia (115), θεωρία, ἄτομον individuum (155).

We must not forget that in his ed. of the *Academica*, in 1885, Dr. Reid had given an elaborate delineation of Cicero's interest in, and production of, Greek philosophy. (A little slip there, on p. 20. The *censor* Licinius Crassus, the great orator of Cicero's youth, not the orator M. Antonius, was the one who suppressed the Latin "*rhetoires*," in 92 B. C. Cf. Cic. de Orat. III, 93, Suet. de Rhetoribus 1, and my *Cicero of Arpinum*, pp. 13 sq. Also Cicero's reconciliation with Cæsar after Pharsalos was in 47, not 46.)

It remains for the student to emancipate himself from the depreciation of Cicero made fashionable for some time by Mommsen's hatred of that name. We cite from Dr. Reid's *Academica*, p. 26, note 2: "The chief promoter of this prejudice has been Mommsen, who has found many to follow him" . . . "Had Cicero by any chance been author of a proscription, he would probably have been one of Mommsen's heroes." May I be permitted to refer to my essay, *Cicero, an Appreciation*, *American Journal of Philology*, 1914, pp. 1-11.

When one realizes how slender and how primitive was the culture of Cicero on the Latin side, how overwhelming, nay how ubiquitous, the Greek, then, and then only, one begins to deal fairly and correctly with Cicero's cultural personality and with his philosophical production. Cf. my biography of Cicero, pp. 37 sq.

E. G. SIHLER.

MT. VERNON, NEW YORK.

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The *Annals of Quintus Ennius*. Edited by ETHEL MARY STEUART. Cambridge, *At the University Press*, 1925. viii + 246 pp.

This modest book, which will make the fragments of the *Annals* accessible to our college students, deserves a hearty welcome. It gives first the well-authenticated lines with a select apparatus, then the *incertae sedis fragmenta*, the *dubia*, and the *spuria*; after which follows a commentary which undertakes concisely to justify the text and the placement of the lines, and to provide appropriate linguistic, metrical, and interpretative suggestions. These notes are at times of a rather elementary kind but disclose on every page a careful study in widely separate fields of interests. Ennius is not a text for beginners in annotation. For the advanced student this volume will by no means

displace Vahlen's edition with its full apparatus and elaborate discussion of the historical setting, but it will be of value even to him in its constant challenge to Vahlen's credulous conservatism.

Since almost every line of Ennius is a problem in setting if not in text, readers are sure to disagree with any editor. To the reviewer, Miss Steuart's judgments on dubious lines seem to range from diffidence to undue daring; and since the exigencies of space have compelled her to be somewhat too concisely dogmatic, it may be of service to indicate a few typical instances of inconclusive editing.

In listing the *spuria* the editor applies a wholesome scepticism regarding the accuracy of late grammarians but a rather dangerous belief in Ennius' freedom from lapses. There is, as she rightly says, no respectable evidence that Ennius mangled the words *cerebrum* and *Massilitanas* with tmesis. However, she has too frequently disregarded good evidence in relegating ugly though well-authenticated phrases and lines to the list of *spuria*. When Ausonius attributes *endo suam do* to Ennius and Varro alludes to the tag in his quaint phrase *endo suam domum* we must accept it, and the editor ought to refer to Varro's allusion in the notes. The jangling line *O Tite tute* is hardly a credit to any poet, but it is attributed to Ennius by three grammarians and was quoted by the Auctor ad Herennium from some early poet. In view of the fact that Ennius wrote about Tatius and that his alliterations sometimes jar we have no right to pronounce the line spurious. Why not drop it among the *dubia*? But this lot is also somewhat overloaded, for it contains several instances like the famous *Nos sumus Romani qui fuimus ante Rudini* quoted by Cicero. The editor's comment is simply "This line is obviously about Ennius, but Cicero does not state that it is by Ennius." Yet what need is there of the statement since it is written in the first person, and we know that Ennius wrote about himself in the twelfth book? And that apposite fact is not even mentioned in the notes.

In the arrangement of the accepted fragments, on the other hand, the reader is likely to find over-much credulity. For instance, Regel's discovery of the order of citations in Macrobius VI, 1, 11-15 is unfortunately disregarded, the assumption of Roman troops in Sicily in 277 B. C. to account for fr. 21 of the sixth book makes one rub one's eyes. Norden's drastic conjectures have been too uncritically accepted in the editing of books VII and VIII, and the assignment of the ninth book to the years 203-2 is wholly unjustified.

The text itself is conservative and is usually based upon the best editions. There is still, however, need for careful sifting. For instance, the editor retains *diu* in fr. 1, bk. II, with the



note "the *dia* of the second hand is an obvious scribe's emendation." But Ziegler has demonstrated in his edition of Cicero's *De Republica* that the corrector of this old manuscript was very trustworthy. Since Miss Steuart justifies her transfer of the fragment (erroneously I think) to the second book by reference to *diu* a more careful weighing of the evidence was essential. The notes are serviceable though some readers will like to have more cross references to Homer and Vergil and will perhaps resent the inclusion of the excursus of dubious value on "ballad poetry."

Miss Steuart set herself an unusually difficult task which in the main she has performed with great credit. I hope that she may be induced to edit the rest of the Ennian fragments in a second volume.

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Frontinus: The Stratagems, and the Aqueducts of Rome; with an English Translation by Charles E. Bennett, the Translation of the Aqueducts being a Revision of that of Clemens Herschel. Edited and prepared for the Press by MARY B. McELWAIN. London, William Heinemann; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, MCMXXV. xl + 484 pp.

This new volume of the Loeb Classical Library should have a wide appeal, not only to the general reader but to the professional scholar as well. Frontinus' *De Aquis* is perhaps the most interesting and most important treatise we have on the water supply of ancient Rome. The text is far from perfect, and it presents a good many technical difficulties, especially in the mathematical chapters, but Professor Bennett has done about the best that could be done with it. One feature of the volume is open to criticism. The two Latin texts follow pretty closely the texts of Gundermann and Bücheler, respectively, but the brackets and diacritical marks employed by the German editors have been omitted "for the sake of appearance." Hence the reader sometimes runs quite unwarned into a bit of utterly impossible Latin; e. g., pp. 80, 16; 366, 1; 400, 2; 426, 10. There are a few obvious misprints; pp. 50, 3; 180, 24; 184, 22; 355, 11; 442, 12. On p. 318, l. 6, *sua fide* can hardly mean "by this expression of confidence." It means rather, from his own engagement, his own promise, to put them to death.

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Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae. Collegit Theodorus Hopfner. Bonn: A. Marcus and E. Weber, 1922-1925. Five parts, pp. 932.

This extensive work is fasciculus II of the *Fontes Historiae Religionum ex Auctoribus Graecis et Latinis Collecti* edited by Carl Clemen, who in 1920 issued the first fascicle dealing with the religion of the Persians. The general editor is to be congratulated on securing the coöperation of Professor Hopfner, who has performed his task with exceptional zeal and thoroughness.

The collection of passages relating to the religion of Egypt here offered must be nearly, if not quite, complete. After occupying myself for years with the tradition of the Greeks and Romans regarding Egypt, I have run through the texts included in this book without discovering any thing of importance omitted. This is a merit not usual in works of this kind. When I speak of completeness, however, I have in mind the limits set by the series. There are certain passages in late Latin Fathers which are not included, though they unquestionably derive from older sources. Moreover, the texts here offered do not include the inscriptions, a fact to be regretted, because some are difficult of access. Doubtless the bulk of the book would have been increased by this addition unless the compiler had chosen to omit certain long texts, such as those of Herodotus and Plutarch, which are likely to be in the hands of any one who purchases this book; but Dr. Hopfner may have felt that the comprehensive index, with which he concludes his work, would gain in practical usefulness if all passages referred to could be conveniently consulted. This is undoubtedly true, and it would be ungracious of us, while regretting what he omitted to do, not to recognize to the full the valuable service he has rendered.

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Virgile, Bucoliques. Texte établi et traduit par Henri GOELZER. Paris. Société d'Édition "*Les Belles Lettres*," 1925, 9 frs.

This new volume of the 'Collection des Universités de France' may be commended to all American students who read, or ought to read, French. It gives a good introduction to the *Bucolics*, the Latin text with a prose translation, and a few concise notes. One note is perhaps open to question. As for the 'sandyx' of

iv. 45, the editor accepts Pliny's comment, 'quamquam animadverto Vergilium existimasse herbam id esse.' But why assume that Virgil regarded the 'sandyx' as a vegetable food, or a vegetable dye, any more than the 'murex' of the previous line? On p. 56 the quatrains of Theocr. viii seem to be ascribed to Theocr. vii.

W. P. MUSTARD.

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### CORRESPONDENCE.

The present serious industrial depression in Germany, where 1,600,000 workers are reported as unemployed in February, has led the publishers of *Bursian's Jahresbericht* to order a marked reduction in the size of that famous journal. The editor, Professor Karl Münscher, informs me that the sum of \$700 in new subscriptions would make it possible to maintain the original scale of publication. At the subscription price of \$9.00 that means only 80 new subscribers. It seems not impossible that a sufficient number of institutions and individuals might be found in this country who would subscribe under these conditions in order to prevent a serious loss to the progress of our science. Notices of new subscriptions should be sent either to the editor, Professor Dr. Karl Münscher, Münster i. W., Breul 12, or to the publishing house, O. R. Reisland, Leipzig, Karlstrasse 20.

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Every scholar knows the defects of the bibliographies compiled for the years of the War, and for the immediately succeeding years. This lacuna in our apparatus is soon to be filled; for a group of French scholars, under the chairmanship of Jules Marouzeau, and with the support of a number of organizations, has prepared a complete *Bibliographie Décennale de l'Antiquité Classique*, for the years 1914-24. The work makes 2000 pages, closely printed, in two volumes; a brief abstract or indication of the contents accompanies each item. The Association Guillaume Budé, of which the distinguished Maurice Croiset is President, has undertaken to see it through the press, and expects to issue it in the summer or autumn of 1926. The Délégué Général of the Association, Jean Malys, well known in America, writes that about \$4000 is needed to finance the work; that some funds have been collected for its assistance; that he desires to secure

about \$1200 more. He has appealed to the undersigned, Délégué Correspondant aux Etats-Unis, for assistance in raising this sum. I shall be glad to receive any sum from One Dollar upward, in support of this monumental work. While its price has not yet been definitely fixed, it is probable that to advance subscribers a bound copy, including postage, will cost not far from Eight Dollars. Any contribution of Five Dollars or more will, if desired, be credited towards a copy, the balance to be paid on the appearance of the work.

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#### THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

As the last pages of the Journal are going to press, news is received of the incorporation of the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA, which is interested in every phase of the arts, letters, and life of the Middle Ages. Simultaneously with this news is received a copy of the first number of *Speculum*, the quarterly organ of the Academy. The successful launching of the Academy, the eminence of its officers—Rand (president), Manly, Haskins, Willard (vice-presidents), Brown (treasurer), Cram (clerk)—, the plans that have been perfected, the co-operation that has been promised, the high character of the first publication, are guarantees of the continued success of the enterprise. The American Journal of Philology begs leave to offer congratulations, and ventures to predict for the Academy a great future. All those who may be interested in membership are referred to the clerk, Dr. R. A. Cram, Room 312, 248 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

C. W. E. MILLER.

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